https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n0/mode/1up

1972-07 -The Nizari Ismaili Tradition in Hind and Sind (681)

All Items on https://archive.org/details/realpatidar

tidar.com

Full Library on https://realpatidar.com/library

THE NIZĀRĪ ISMĀ'ĪLĪ TRADITION IN HIND AND SIND

realpatidar.com

Link: http://www.realpatidar.com/library
email: mail@realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n1/mode/1up

Real Patidar Library

https://www.realpatidar.com/library

This book/literature/article/material may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The library does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The library shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Full terms and conditions of use: http://www.realpatidar.com

About Real Patidar books

Real Patidar's mission is to organize the information on Satpanth religion, which is a Nizari Ismaili sect of Shia branch of Islam, and to make it universally accessible and useful. Real Patidar Books helps readers discover the material on Satpanth online while helping authors and researchers in their studies. You can know more by visiting http://www.realpatidar.com

You can resize and move this box in any PDF Application like Adobe Acrobat Reader.

Use the Bookmarks facility in the PDF to directly go to the pages containing Highlights.

For Reference See Pages: 24, 52, 123, 130, 279.
For page numbers, see the page footer. Page numbers are in 'Page x of y' format

References by: RealPatidar.com - Created using: step2-QR-and-3-RM-v5.py

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n2/mode/1up

Digitally signed by realpatidar.com
DN: cn=realpatidar.com, c=IN, o=realpatidar.com, email=mail@realpatidar.com
Reason: I have reviewed this document
Date: 2026.02.19 13:27:52 +05'30'

realpatidar.com

THE NIZĀRĪ ISMĀ'ĪLĪ TRADITION IN HIND AND SIND

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n3/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

ABSTRACT

Author : Azim Nanji
Title of the Thesis : The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in Hind and Sind.
Department : Islamic Studies.
Degree : Ph.D.

This thesis is concerned with providing a perspective on the total heritage - oral, written as well as that observed in a continuing tradition of religious practice - among the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs of the Sub-continent.

It initially attempts to define the content and nature of this heritage (collectively termed 'Tradition') with special reference to the gināns preserved in manuscripts. The Tradition is studied with a view to analyzing the self-image therein of those who preached Nizārī Ismā'īlism, and also with the purpose of reconstructing a history of the da'wa as it spread and developed in the area.

The second part focuses on certain specific themes, reflected in a few selected gināns, with a view to determining how certain basic Ismā'īlī concepts became metamorphosed in the gināns. Such a metamorphosis, it is argued, represents the process by which Nizārī Ismā'īlism was presented to the new adherents in the context of Indo-Muslim society.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n4/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

THE NIZĀRĪ ISMĀ'ĪLĪ TRADITION IN HIND AND SIND

by

Azim Nanji

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research, McGill University
July 1972
in partial fulfillment of the Ph.D. degree in
Islamic Studies

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n5/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Acknowledgements

I am of course indebted to many people for their assistance, and I can only mention a few names here.

Since neither my studies here at the Institute of Islamic Studies nor the field work necessary for the thesis, would have been possible without the generous grants of the Rockefeller Foundation, it is to them that I express my initial thanks.

My greatest debt, perhaps, is to the many people in East Africa, India, Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan, Ismā'īlīs and others, who gave freely of their time and whose kindness and help made field research such an enjoyable and rewarding experience. In Pakistan, I was helped by Miss Zwahir Nooraly, Mr. Faquirmohamed Hunzai, Al-Waez Hashim Moledina, Al-Waez Noordin, and in particular the President, Vice President and Officers of the Ismailia Association of Pakistan and the Library Staff, who put at my disposal their entire collection of manuscripts and gave me permission to microfilm the necessary materials.

For help in various ways I would also like to thank Pir Hishamuddin Rashidi, Vizier G. Allana and Vizier Sherali Allidina

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n6/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of Karachi, Dr.G.A.Allana of Sind University,Hyderabad, Mr. and Mrs. Rashed Farzaneh of the Iranian Cultural Centre in Hyderabad, and my uncle and aunt Mr. and Mrs. Fatheali Hashim for their considerable assistance in facilitating my field research.

In India I was afforded considerable assistance by the President, General Secretaries and Officers of the Ismailia Association for Bharat, Professor A.A.A. Fyzee of Bombay, Professor Satish Misra of the M.S. University of Baroda, Sayyid Nur Ali Shah of Burhanpur, Mukhi Parmanandas Khodidas of Bhavnagar and the Ismā'īlī communities in Ahmedabad and Surat. To the Ismā'īlīs of Iran and Afghanistan my special thanks for their truly memorable hospitality and to Mr. Chotu Lakhani, Mr. Alauddin Kamdia, Miss Parveen Peerwani of Teheran and Mr. Ahmad Haji Husayn of Kabul and his family, many thanks for their kind cooperation and assistance.

The manuscript was read, in whole or in part, by Dr. I.K. Poonawala of Harvard University who continued to take great interest in the work even after he left McGill University, where he had acted as my Thesis Advisor, Professor R. Culley of the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, Professor R. Verdery, Professor H. Landolt, Professor A. Barker, and especially Professor C. Adams of the Institute of Islamic Studies,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n7/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

McGill University, each of whom offered many helpful suggestions for its improvement.

Among my colleagues here at the Institute, I must single out for special thanks, Khalid Masud, Aftabuddin Ahmad, G.Bowering, Omar Jah, and Mohammed Abu Aly for their constant help throughout the writing of this thesis. Though I mention only a few, I am conscious of many others who during the last five years have contributed in some measure to the pleasant and stimulating environment at the Institute. My thanks also go to Miss K. Jinha and Mrs. N. Babikian who typed the first and final drafts of this thesis respectively.

During the course of this work, the entire staff of the Library of the Institute has been extremely cooperative, and I should like to thank in particular the Librarian Mr. Muzaffar Ali and the Library Assistant Miss Salwa Ferahian for their assistance in securing materials from other Universities whenever I needed them. I am also very much indebted to Miss E. Yuile, Administrative Assistant, for her help in cutting across many administrative difficulties during my field work and throughout the writing of this thesis.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n8/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

TRANSLITERATION, DATES AND ABBREVIATIONS

In a work in which a number of different languages have been employed, the task of providing an adequate and consistent transliteration scheme is well nigh impossible. Though I have attempted to be consistent, there are undoubtedly elements in the transliteration scheme which will not please all. With only a few exceptions, I have adhered strictly to the transliteration scheme of the Institute of Islamic Studies, which has devised separate schemes for Arabic, Persian and Urdu. One exception is that I have dropped the "h" for the Arabic ة , for instance "da'wa" and not "da'wah". Other exceptions are primarily of modern place names and languages, which have become part of common usage. Thus, Islam not Islām, the Yemen not al-Yaman, Punjabi not Pānjābī etc. Unusual names and languages are, however, transliterated. For words derived from Sanskrit and belonging to the Hindu tradition, I have transliterated them, as they appear in Benjamin Walker's The Hindu World (see the Bibliography). Khōjkī words are transliterated according to the scheme outlined on p.9 of the text. On the whole, frequently recurring foreign words and terms such as ginān, dā'ī, pīr, etc. are defined and underlined

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n9/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

only upon their first appearance to preserve the attractiveness of the manuscript.

A number of extracts from the gināns have been translated with a certain freedom to bring out the significance with greater clarity. The translation are my own (except where indicated) and my main concern has been to provide as accurate a translation as possible and I have, as a result, been forced in the interest of exactness to sacrifice poetic and stylistic felicity.

Dates in the Samvat (S.) era have been converted to the Christian era on the basis of Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras (see the Bibliography) and unless otherwise indicated all dates are in the Christian era.

The names of frequently cited journals and reference works have been abbreviated. They are:

BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

EI 1 - Encyclopaedia of Islam, Old Edition

EI 2 - Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition

IC - Islamic Culture

JBBRAS - Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JRAS - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

JRCAS - Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

SEI - Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam

SI - Studia Islamica

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n10/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ii

Transliteration, dates and abbreviations v

Chapter I

Introduction 1
Background to the Tradition (1). Sources for the Study of the Tradition (6).

Part One: The History

Chapter II

The Setting 45
Pre-Nizārī Ismā'īlism in India (45). The Political and Social Milieu (55). Religious Trends in the Milieu (61).

Chapter III

First Phase: Emergence 69

Chapter IV

Second Phase: Consolidation 99

Chapter V

Third Phase: Schism and Sequel 120

Part Two: The Themes

Chapter VI

Anagogic Qualities of the Gināns (140). The Archetypal dā'ī in the ginān narratives (143). Divine Epiphany and Cyclical Descent: Mazhar and Avatāra (158). Satpanth and Ginān, the Way and the Gnosis (173).

Chapter VII

Concluding Remarks 189

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n11/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Appendices

Appendix I — 199

List of PIrs in the Tradition (199). List of ImāMs (202).

Appendix II — 204

Bibliographical Notes on GināNs used in the thesis (204).

Notes

Notes to the Introduction — 217

Notes to Part One — 231

Notes to Part Two — 266

BIBLIOGRAPHY — 285

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n12/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Tradition

In 1886 public attention was drawn by a case in the Bombay High Court, that came to be known as the "Aga Khan Case",[1] and in which a certain minority section of a group from among the Khōjās[2] was seeking to obtain a decree of the Court to remove the Āghā Khān[3] from his position and authority as spiritual head and hereditary Imām of the Khōjās.

After passing judgement in favor of the Āghā Khān and his co-defendants, the Judge, Sir Joseph Arnould, described the Khōjās as:-

> "A sect of people whose ancestors were Hindus in origin, which was converted to and has throughout abided in the faith of the Shī'a Imāmī Ismā'īlīs and which has always been and still is bound by ties of spiritual allegiance to the hereditary Imāms of the Ismā'īlīs."[4]

The Case had necessitated resorting to historical evidence in considerable detail by both sides,[5] and the legal judgement in fact established the Khōjās as part of a wider community of Ismā'īlīs scattered over the world. The interest of scholars and Western Orientalists in particular was further stimulated by the Case, and since then the historiography about the Ismā'īlīs has evidenced a steady increase. Much of the legend and myth that had been built

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n13/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

around them has been cleared away, and we now have a considerably clearer perspective of their development in Islamic history.[6]

We also now know enough of the outlines of Ismā'īlī history and in particular of that extraordinary institution - the da'wa[7] - to trace its role against the changing background and fortunes of the Ismā'īlī movement itself. In the Ismā'īlī context, the da'wa served both political and religious functions. The political aim of the organized da'wa institution through its instruments the du'āt (sing. dā'ī) was a call for allegiance to an imām descended from Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, as the rightful head for the Muslim community. The movement resulted in the establishment of the Fāṭimid dynasty in North Africa early in the tenth century, but prior to and even to a greater extent after the hey-day of the Fāṭimid Empire, the da'wa was active in many other parts. At the religious level, the da'wa was also concerned with the task of preaching, of education and of initiation into Ismā'īlī doctrine. Both these functions, however, almost invariably went together in the earlier stage when the aim was to establish a state or a confederation of states based on Ismā'īlī ideas of polity.[8]

Strictly speaking the word da'wa meant something more than what is implied in the two functions stated above. It also has the sense of doctrine, religion or community, and it is in this multivalent aspect that the term will be used in this thesis.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n14/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The tenth and early eleventh centuries saw the Fāṭimid dynasty reach its zenith, and the khuṭba was recited in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph in almost half the Islamic territories, in places extending from the Maghrib in the west to Sind in the east, including Yemen to the south. But by the end of the eleventh century internal weaknesses and external pressures in the form of a Sunnī resurgence had caused a decline.[9] In 1094, upon the death of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir, the Ismā'īlīs split over the issue of succession. The schism divided the Ismā'īlīs into two camps, one giving allegiance to the eldest son Nizār and the other to the youngest, Musta'lī.[10] In due course the other centres of the da'wa outside Egypt aligned themselves to make propaganda in favor of their respective choices. In Iran meanwhile one of the leaders, Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, having already established his head-quarters in the fort of Alamūt in the province of Daylamān threw in his lot in favor of Nizār and thus began the organization of an independent Nizārī da'wa, which was to establish a state that lasted for almost two centuries before it was destroyed by the Mongols in 1256, but which continued its activities long after the destruction of its political power and whose adherents survive to our day.[11]

With this background in mind we turn now to an area which had been a theatre of the Ismā'īlī da'wa's activities before the establishment of the Fāṭimid dynasty - namely Hind and Sind.[12] The

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n15/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

da'wa had established itself in Sind as early as the ninth century, and we know that subsequently a principality was set up there giving allegiance to the Fāṭimid Imāms.[13] The effects of the schism in 1094 were to be felt in this foremost sphere of the da'wa as well. As in most fields of Ismā'īlī studies, this region has received scant attention, but the recent resurgence of interest in Ismā'īlism has led to fairly detailed work on this earlier phase of the da'wa's activity in Sind.[14] This work has, however, not extended to the area which forms the object of this study, namely the rise and character of the Nizārī Ismā'īlism as it spread and developed on the Sub-continent.[15]

The attempt to understand Nizārī Ismā'īlism as it developed on the Sub-continent, must depend largely on the Tradition retained among its adherents there. In the context of the title of the thesis, the term "Tradition" is meant to signify and encompass the whole range of expression of the da'wa's activity in Hind and Sind, as revealed in writing, practice and oral tradition.

The study covers the entire period from the twelfth century, when we can speak of an independent Nizārī da'wa, to the time that the Nizārī Ismā'īlī Imāma was forced to move its residence from Iran to India in the nineteenth century.

From the outset, however, it must be made quite clear that the aim is not to produce a purely synchronic, phenomenolo-

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n16/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

gically oriented study of what has been termed the Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition. This would be much less fruitful and do considerably less justice to the Tradition than a more comprehensive diachronic study that would take into account concurrent Nizārī Ismā'īlī developments elsewhere. This is all the more true since such an history of ideas is directly related to an institution - that of the da'wa - and would further permit a sifting out of superficial correlations resulting from the limitations of environment, and from deep attachments between institutional complexes persisting over the full period and space of the da'wa's activities. Also the Tradition, if it is to be properly evaluated, cannot be treated as a closed system. It developed over a long period and changed as the society in which it flourished underwent change. Our study must, therefore, take into account historical processes and social changes, not only within the immediate society that gave birth to the Tradition, but also at the level of Ismā'īlī and perhaps even Islamic society as a whole. Nevertheless, it also remains to be analysed whether the Tradition had any specifically independent characteristics and what new directions, if any, it was able to give to Ismā'īlī hopes on the Sub-continent.

In broad terms then, the introductory section of the present study will seek to define the content of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in Hind and Sind, attempting at the same time to provide methodological perspective within which its origin, composition,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n17/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

transmission and recording can be studied. The first part will be concerned with studying the historical context and the milieu within which it developed and with tracing the activities of the da'wa, members of whom are alleged to have originated the Tradition. This in turn will involve an analysis of the Tradition in terms of its value for the writing of the history of Nizārī Ismā'īlism. The other part of the study will be concerned with an analysis of elements of the Tradition itself, particularly as it reflects the continuity and metamorphosis of specific Ismā'īlī ideas. We can hope in the end to derive an understanding of Nizārī Ismā'īlism in Hind and Sind not only in its own terms but also as a continuum of Ismā'īlism, a regeneration as it were, that sought in a conscious attempt through the da'wa to recreate its faith within a new complex of forces and ideas.

Sources for the study of the Tradition

The texts recorded in writing constitute the largest portion of the Tradition preserved in India and it is proper that our survey of the sources should begin with the major and most significant component of this recorded element - the gināns.

The Gināns

The word ginān is a popularization of the Sanskrit word jñāna, which is generally defined as "contemplative or meditative knowledge".[16] Among the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, the word has come to

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n18/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

refer to that part of their Tradition whose authorship is attributed to the various dā'īs who undertook the work of conversion and preaching. Since the gināns represent not only the major portion of the Tradition, but constitute almost the entire indigenous literary heritage that was developed and preserved by the community, they reflect accordingly the most significant and creative characteristics of the da'wa's achievement. Consequently, the gināns form the focal source on which this study rests.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of gināns has been published, and the process had, in fact, been completed by the early part of this century.[17] Since then they have been reprinted many times over, and Ivanow provides a fairly complete list of the major gināns existing in print.[18] Until the present, the question of the antiquity and authenticity of the printed works has never been fully discussed, for as Ivanow believed, the literature was preserved orally for a long time until recently.[19] During an extended field trip to East Africa, India and Pakistan however, I was able to locate and examine over one hundred and fifty manuscripts in which the gināns are recorded.[20] Unknown to outside scholars, the existence of these manuscripts brings to the fore an entirely new set of problems concerning the preservation, antiquity and validity of the gināns. Hence rather than depend entirely on the printed versions, which, it will become

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n19/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

apparent, have undergone certain changes in publication , this study will attempt to survey the gināns as they appear in the manuscripts and relate them whenever necessary to printed texts for verification. Also, the recent printed texts are presented mostly in the modern Gujaratı script, whereas but for a very few recent manuscripts, the entire recorded corpus has survived in the Khōjkī script, this script being an element unique to the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in the history of Indo-Muslim literature.

Script and Languages

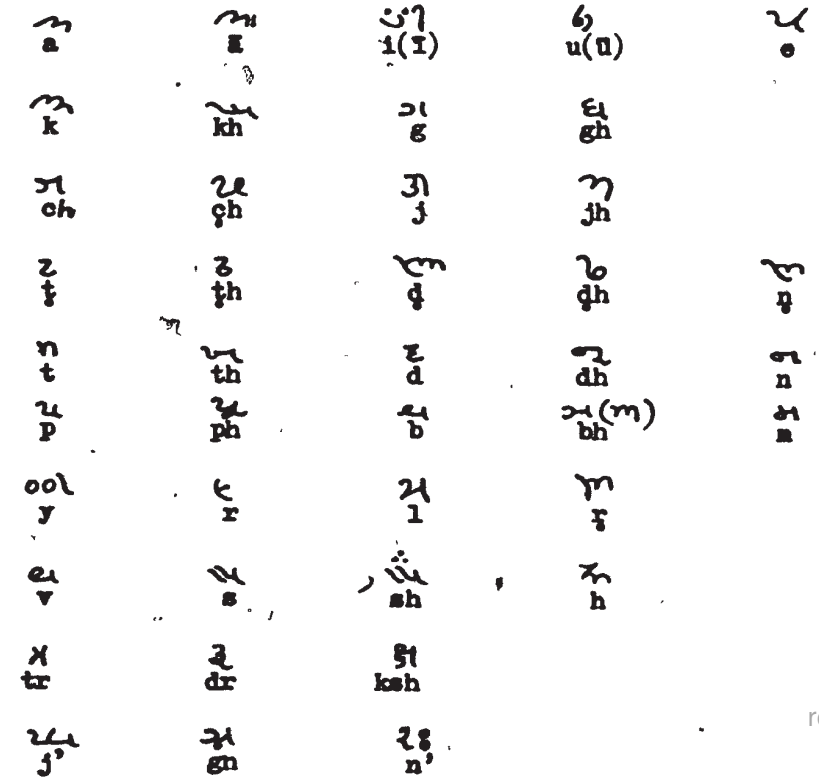
Khōjkī, or Khwājā Sindhī as it has also come to be called, represents one of the earliest forms of written Sindhi that has come down to us.[21] Though we know from Arab travellers of the tenth century such as Ibn Ḥawqal, that the languages spoken in Sind were Arabic and Sindhī,[22] it is not known in which script Sindhı was written at this time. al-Bīrūnī makes reference to the Ardhanāgarī, Malwārī and Saindhava scripts as being current in Sind,[23] but these remain unknown to us, as no record from this region has so far been published. The Chachnāma attests to the fact that Sindhi was a written language around the beginning of the eighth century.[24] However a very recent discovery of potsherds found during excavations at Bhanbore near Karachi,[25] has led one scholar to believe that the letters in which the inscriptions on the potsherds are written, represent a script very akin to khōjkī.[26]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n20/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

These inscriptions are in the proto-Nāgarī style of the eighth century. Khōjkī letters are also of a proto-Nāgarī character and in the community's Tradition were allegedly devised by one of the dā'īs from Iran to enable the new converts to learn Islamic principles in their own language. Since we have neither sufficient epigraphic evidence nor any ancient manuscripts to suggest what exactly the earliest Sindhi scripts were, one is inclined to postpone discussion of the origin of the script until such time as new materials become available. One is inclined to suggest that the Khōjkī script used among the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs to preserve their Tradition was probably an adaptation of existing scripts, and not a new creation. The characters of the script consist of the following letters.[27]



realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n21/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The topography of the collected manuscripts gives some indication of the unifying function of the Khōjkī script within the Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition and also provides a clue as to why its use was rigorously maintained throughout the centuries. The manuscripts were gathered mostly from the modern day provinces of Sind and Punjab in Pakistan, Gwadar, Muscat and from Kathiawar, Cutch and areas of Gujarat in India.[28] The languages in which the gināns exist reflect the areas from which the manuscripts originate. It is asserted that forty-two different dialects were employed,[29] but that seems somewhat exaggerated; at least a few of the Indian languages are apparent. Among them the most important are Sindhi, Multanı, Punjabi, Gujarati and Hindi and the so-called language of the mystics - Sāddhukaḍa Bōli. Historically the major centres of the da'wa's activity include the areas in which the above languages were spoken or developed, but Sind, as we shall see, was a much more important centre in the earlier period. This may suggest why Khōjkī, as one of the scripts prevalent in Sind, was singled out for preservation of the Tradition. The complicated, linguistic issues raised by the Tradition are beyond the scope of this thesis, but it must be noted that Dr. G.Allana of Sind University is attempting to study some of the Sindhī gināns to show that they represent a much older form of the language than is generally thought.[30]

One other clue suggested by the use of Khōjkī to preserve

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n22/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the gināns is that in this way, the doctrines of the community could be kept secret and available only within the circle of adherents. In this way the script acted as a factor of unity bringing together the varied communities on the Sub-continent but also acted as a protective cover against outsiders ever gaining knowledge of their beliefs. In view of the constant persecution that the community was faced with, this precautionary step was necessary.

Origin and Preservation

In the community's self-image, the gināns spring directly from the work of the da'wa, and their authorship is attributed to the various dā'īs whose activities can be said to have begun at least from the thirteenth century. Until the early part of the present century, the gināns constituted a "living" tradition among the adherents, in the sense that they continued to be composed and incorporated into the existing corpus. Gināns, in fact, as I was able to determine, continued to be composed until the turn of the century.[31] After that time, no more new material was incorporated, and the existing corpus as now preserved, became "frozen". It is alleged that about thirty dā'īs, over the long period of some six centuries, contributed in varying amounts, to the existing sum of gināns, which amount to approximately 800 single compositions, of differing lengths.[32]

realpatidar.com

Of the manuscripts that record gināns, the oldest that

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n23/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

came to my attention was copied in S.1793 (1736).[33] There is, however, reason to believe, both on the basis of internal evidence in the manuscripts, and some external evidence, that the task of recording gināns in writing began earlier.

Taking the two oldest manuscripts as a guide, we find that both reveal a pattern. The copying was completed over a number of years, by different copyists. The scribes who commenced making the copy state distinctly that the copies were being made for certain individuals from other copies.[34] We, therefore, have some indication here that older manuscripts were in existence, from which these copies were made. I was in fact given to understand, that one of the Imāms, 'Alī Shāh known as Āghā Khān II (d. 1885) had assigned the task of collecting manuscripts to some of his followers in order that the gināns should be preserved properly.[35] However once the task of collecting the old manuscripts was done and the printed editions of the gināns put out, a large number of the manuscripts was destroyed.[36] The weather and the poor quality of the paper often used was also perhaps responsible for the loss of many manuscripts, to judge by the bad condition in which some of the existing ones are found.

In another manuscript dating from the early nineteenth century,[37] where the copyist refers to an earlier manuscript from which he is recording, there is some highly suggestive evidence for much older written materials. It seems that while writing down the gināns, the copyist came across a specific reference in

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n24/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

his immediate source recording what appears to be a contemporary event. The exact reference is to "Pīr Dādū who left, with all well-being, from Nagar for Bhuj in the year S.1641 (1584)".[38] It is quite clear, that such an insertion which is entirely unrelated to the copyist's task of writing down the gināns, shows that his source must either have been a much older manuscript incorporating a contemporary event, or one that contained such early information. Moreover, this practice is not entirely uncommon in the manuscripts we have, where references to historical events or persons are recorded from time to time, re-emphasizing the fact that older manuscripts were in existence from which copies came to be made.[39]

One such allegedly ancient manuscript is known to have been presented as evidence in the celebrated "Haji Bibi Case" of 1905. A religious scholar in the community, whose family had traditionally preserved ginān manuscripts, produced as an exhibit a manuscript of gināns that had been copied in S.1622 (1565). An attempt was also made by the witness to collate gināns in the manuscript with other later texts and printed versions. The witness stated that his comparison revealed that the then existing copies had been made from ancient texts such as the one in his possession.[40] The manuscript exhibited in the Case can now no longer be traced, but I was able to meet with and interview family members of the now deceased witness. Their

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n25/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

information about the nature of the manuscript and the fact that the name of this witness crops up often in the colophons of the existing manuscripts,[41] lend credence to the genuineness of the ancient copy. It may be argued that as a party for the defendants in the Case, it was in his interest to try to prove the antiquity of the gināns, but viewed within the context of the internal evidence in other manuscripts presented above, it becomes difficult to reject the claim solely on that basis.

One further point needs to be considered in relation to the problem of how far back we can trace the practice of recording gināns in writing. The matter requires consideration because it is related to the problem of when and how the gināns really originated. The point concerns the preservation of gināns among dissenting groups, who eventually separated from the main Nizārī Ismā'īlī da'wa, in the course of a number of schisms that arose. The most significant dissenting group is represented by the Imām-Shāhīs, also called Satpanthis.[42] In the present century, this group began to publish the gināns preserved among them,[43] and the similarity of the majority of these gināns to those preserved among the mainstream of Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, is to say the least, striking. I also had the opportunity of visiting the necropolis of the Imām-Shāhī sect in Pirana and of studying some the the manuscripts there.[44] These manuscripts, too, apparently are copied from earlier texts, and the gināns recorded were in most cases identical

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n26/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

with those in the possession of the parent body. Since it is possible to date the initial schism back to the sixteenth century, we have here strong evidence for the fact that by that time a number of the earlier gināns had been fixed with the consequence that they have been preserved in almost identical form by the two groups. This is not to discount any subsequent interaction among the differing groups, but it seems hardly likely that such interaction would continue to exist were it not for the common heritage the groups shared.

Another subsequent off-shoot from the main branch, the followers of Pīr Mashā'ikh (also called Mǒmnas) have preserved a literature very similar to the gināns in form. This group seceded in the later part of the seventeenth century, and the Pīr is said to have composed his works soon after. While in India, I was able to see some of these compositions, and though the survey was only superficial, there was a distinct similarity in the forms in which the works were composed, indicating no doubt, that as a member of the old da'wa, Pīr Mashā'ikh, in fact, utilized forms that had been employed by those long before him.[45]

All the above does not in any case provide proof for the actual authorship of the gināns. It merely indicates that there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to show that a written tradition of recording earlier gināns could have existed from at least the sixteenth century. By that time, possibly, the corpus

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n27/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of major gināns had become fixed and the authorship of individual compositions had been attributed to the various major dā'īs who had lived up to that period. As these gināns have been retained in the existing manuscripts and among the Imām Shāhīs, no textual differences occur, except when obvious interpolations have been made to justify historical differences, a question that is taken up later when these gināns come up for discussion for their historical content.

Even if it is granted that the process of recording gināns in writing had begun by the sixteenth century, we are still left with many problems concerning the main period of their composition, their authorship and also the way in which the gināns continued to be composed and transmitted. Within the gināns there is very little direct evidence to indicate how they were composed and transmitted. In my reading I came across one reference at the beginning of a long ginān which states that it is being written down as heard from its alleged composer Pīr Shams, by his disciple Vimras. The latter who is also called Chandrbhān is constantly referred to in a number of other gināns as a disciple and companion of Shams, and in some of the gināns he is specifically asked by Shams to recite the gināns to the new converts.[46] One of the castes converted by the earlier dā'īs including Shams was the Bhatia caste found in Sind. The present Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in parts of Sind still retain features of having once belonged to this caste.[47]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n28/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Within the caste there was always a group of persons whose occupation it was traditionally to preserve and sing the traditional songs of the caste.[48] If such were the case, and if the origin of the gināns is seen in this light, it is possible that the original teachings of the earlier dā'īs were either put to music and sung for the rest of the adherents by those performers, or that the dā'īs themselves composed the actual gināns, leaving the task of preservation and transmission to these disciples. Either way, considerable research needs to be done before we can even begin to clarify the origins of the gināns. One possible field of inquiry suggested by the hypothesis of an initial oral composition and preservation, is to utilize the methods of comparative research being employed in fields such as ancient epic poetry and to determine if the gināns, in fact, show the characteristics of having originated in a tradition of oral composition. It is possible that an oral and a written tradition could have existed alongside each other until the texts were finally fixed.[49] Utilization of the method suggested may help either to confirm or to rule out the possibility.

It is worth noting that the gināns, if indeed they developed over a span ranging from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries, flourished at a time when the written literary tradition, both among Hindus and Muslims of the Sub-continent, was firmly established. A comparison with other like

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n29/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

forms may prove a useful indication for the purpose of relative dating. There is evidence of a parallel Jñāna tradition, particularly in the field of devotional poetry, in Gujarat. The tradition has been traced in Hindu religious poetry down to the nineteenth century and includes such well known figures as Narasiṁha Maheṭa (fifteenth century), Mīrābāi (sixteenth century), and Narhari (seventeenth century).[50] Devotional poetry in North India had also found such famous exponents as Kabīr (144-1518) and Gurū Nānak (1469-1539) who both belonged to the tradition of Bhakti, shared by the poets of Gujarat.[51] Among the Muslims and particularly the ṣūfīs there was also developing a tradition of composing poetry and prose in a mystical vein. One major feature that can be singled out as common to all the above traditions, is the use of Indian vernaculars. In almost all cases the above poets wrote in the language of the people of the region in which they lived. Like some of the gināns, these compositions survive in "mixed", "Hindi" or regional dialects.[52] Also a factor that stimulated composition in the vernacular was the fact that the verses could be linked to music and thus sung, as an aid to spiritual ecstasy.[53] The ginān literature was part of a larger, developing tradition on the Sub-continent, and this link is further emphasized by the existence of works of some of the above poets, side by side with the gināns, in some of the manuscripts.[54]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n30/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Classification

Once the texts of the gināns had become more or less fixed in writing, there is apparent in the manuscripts an attempt to classify them. The most interesting of these is a classification of gināns according to ritual, and significantly this most often occurs in the older manuscripts. Certain gināns were closely connected with rituals, and from observing sections of the community where some of the older rituals still persist, one can pinpoint this association. A certain variety of gināns is associated with the ceremony of ghaṭ-pāṭ,[55] another set of gināns is regularly recited prior to the daily prayer, and sections of gināns like the Dasa Avatāra[56] are recited during funeral rites. These gināns turn up repeatedly in the older manuscripts probably due to the fact , that a larger number of community members had memorized them than had memorized others and that they were needed more often, because of the association with ritual. Whereas these factors indicate why such gināns should recur so often in the manuscripts, they may also provide a clue as to the earlier phases of composition, when gināns were composed for the purpose of relating ritual to the new set of doctrines adopted by the recent converts.

A second system of classification apparent in the manuscripts proceeds according to the author or pīr who is said to have composed the gināns. This classification, however, tends

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n31/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

to be haphazard because the gināns of a number of pīrs are lumped together, and it is only by checking each ginān individually for the name of the pīr associated with it, that the differentiation can be made. In certain cases the copyist does make an attempt to put the gināns of one pīr together. The longer compositions also tend to be grouped together. This is common in most manuscripts, and the same system was followed when the gināns were lithographed and subsequently printed. Certain discrepancies did crop up in the later stages particularly over differences regarding the authorship of any particular ginān. I tried to find out whether any special method had been adopted to determine the authorship in case of a controversy, but apparently there was none.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the da'wa came to be much more organized, it does seem plausible that the collection and classification of the main body of the gināns, was done by members of the da'wa or local heads of the community. This hypothesis would account for the basic similarity of texts discovered in the various centres of da'wa acitivity and Nizārī Ismā'īlī settlement. Wherever minor variants occur, they are in most cases due to the linguistic background of the scribe, so that if the gināns were recited or recorded in a Sindhi or Punjabi milieu, certain words in the transcription would be "Sindhi-ized" or "Punjabi-ized". This process presupposes an existing body of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n32/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

gināns in writing or even orally preserved, attributed to the major dā'īs of the early period which only came to be classified at a later point and preserved as we find them in the older manuscripts.

Having indicated some of the complex problems that arise from the issue of the origin and transmission of a literature like the gināns, we can now try to delineate possible phases through which the entire ginān corpus, as we now have it has passed.

The earliest phase obviously antedates the oldest written documents in existence as well as the time of many manuscripts that have long since been destroyed. In the present state of our knowledge it is almost impossible to say whether any of the present gināns existed at that stage. If so these gināns would likely be those which make appeal for conversion and seek to provide a doctrinal framework for the new converts. Such a stage would also coincide with the preliminary period of the da'wa's activity from about the thirteenth century onwards.

A second phase, where we possess circumstantial evidence of written texts of gināns, can be said to have begun in the sixteenth century. Whatever materials existed prior to this time were collected, classified, and distributed among the various communities in the Sub-continent. Titles were given to the longer gināns, and each individual composition came to be attributed to one of the major pīrs of the early period who had set into motion

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n33/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the whole Tradition. During this phase the use of the Khōjkī script also flourished.

In the third phase, which brings us up to the middle of the nineteenth century and the transfer of the Imāma to India, the community had begun to be split because of schisms. The various sectarian groups continued to preserve parts of the ginān tradition already established, introducing, possibly, interpolations to serve sectarian interests. The mainstream of the da'wa concentrated its principal work in efforts to consolidate the common base of the scattered adherents and strengthen ties with the Imāma in Iran. New gināns continued to be composed, mostly on imitative lines, modelled on forms already existing, but the flow of composition had by that time become slower.

The final phase coincides with the emergence of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī community into the modern era, when further composition of gināns, and incorporation into the main body, stopped, and the corpus became "frozen". During this stage the process of collection and collation of existing manuscripts was carried out, and after being edited, the gināns were published.

None of the above phases, and in particular the first three, need be looked upon as completely distinct from the others. There was obviously a degree of overlap. The possibility of revision, interpolation, updating and edition of gināns must also be considered but without exaggerating the degree to which this was done. As in

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n34/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the case of most religiously-oriented literature, the fact that the adherents would be loath to alter or pervert what was in their eyes a "sacrosanct" tradition coming from their pīrs, needs to be appreciated.

As our survey so far has shown, the history of the gināns, particularly the question of their origin and the main period of their main composition, raises many problems. Among these, for example, are the questions of their first recording in writing, the nature and accuracy of the transmission before that time, the dates of the various phases, the evidence of the manuscripts, the nature of the languages in the gināns and the origin of the Khōjkī script. Most of these may be considered technical problems which only further, highly detailed, research may help to solve. Although these problems may not alter to any great degree our conception of the gināns as they presently exist, nevertheless, all such problems are interlocked with those of evaluation of the content of the gināns. One hopes that the lines of research indicated in the survey will eventually lead to greater understanding, but in the meantime we can concentrate our efforts on studying the gināns that have survived in written form. We now turn to a discussion of the general forms and types of gināns as they are reflected in the manuscripts.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n35/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Forms and Types

The gināns are meant to be sung and recited. Music, therefore, is one of the main formal characteristics of the gināns. In a few instances the melodies (rāgas) according to which the gināns could be sung are indicated in the manuscripts. Very simply defined, the rāga is the dominant feature in Indian art music, and has always played a vital role in the religious life of the Hindus.[57] It is likely that the indication of rāgas for certain gināns was done at a period later than the original composition, but the original compositions may have had musical qualities derived from those prevalent in the areas of the da'wa's operation. A similar development apparently took place in the compilation of the Risalo of Shāh 'Abd al-Laṭīf Bhitā'ī of Sind (1689-1752).[58] We are told that during his lifetime, he had sought the help of two specialists from Delhi to compose rāgas for his poems, and even today various types of rāgas are associated with various poems in the Risalo. However there is doubt about whether the present mode of singing is akin to the original rāgas, and it is thought that in the course of time, changes have taken place.[59] One possible method for locating the origin and the changes within the rāgas in which the gināns are presently sung, would be to try to record the rāgas as they are sung among the older members of the community, particularly members from those areas where the ethnographic situation has not been completely

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n36/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

altered by modernization, and then to relate these rāgas to the standard ones existing in Indian poetry. The poets of the Bhakti tradition such as Kabīr and Mirābāi also had their works enshrined in rāgas.[60]

The vital function of the melodies, as of the rāgas in traditional Hindu religious poetry,was to spell out in the language of musical formulae, definite compositions capable of evoking a variety of emotions. The use of music in the gināns is a particularly vital element not only in the expression of the singer's art, but also as a means to evoke definite emotional reponses and states. That is the reason why specific gināns with a certain type of rāga are still sung at special times during the day, to fit in with the mood of a ritual or as aids to meditation in the mystic path.[61] We know that Islamic music had an impact on North Indian rāgas. The Persian maqāmāt and the rāgas were combined into new forms, and the impact was particularly noticeable during the early period of the Delhi Sultanate. Amīr Khusrav (1253-1325) was a well known exponent of the new art of synthesizing the two.[62] But a more important link was forged in the field of mysticism. Music had always been an important factor in certain ṣūfī practices, and it is well known that among the ṣūfīs of the Sub-continent, a large number became interested in using Indian rāgas with their admixture of Persian and Arab elements in the practice of samā'.[63]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n37/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The rāga as a musical form is closely linked with the literary form in which most Indian, and particularly devotional, poetry was composed. The prosodic features of the gināns like the musical elements, belong very much to the context of artistic forms prevalent in the Sub-continent.[64] Within the manuscripts the longer compositions are called granths and the shorter ones simply gināns. As is well known, the history of literary composition in the modern Indian languages such as Hindi, Punjābi, Sindhi and the so-called mixed language of the mystics -Saddhukāda Bōli, can be traced with great difficulty not much farther than the thirteenth century,[65] but we possess some evidence of literary forms used in Gujarat prior even to that time. This evidence points to the rāsa form which is known to have been prevalent in Gujarat from the twelfth century onwards.[66] The word rāsa actually came to be applied to a form of composition recited to a rāga. The rāsa was mainly a medium used for religious instruction and for expression of religious feeling. Not only their general content but also some of the features of the rāsa, like the variety in length, the fact that they end with the name of the composer and with prayers for forgiveness, and the use of the rāga, suggests a possible source of inspiration for the granths in the gināns. One particular form, very popular in Gujarati folk life is the garbī (it is a folk dance with the word applied to the singing party itself. The individuals move around in a circle and sing

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n38/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

to the accompaniment of a rythmical clap of hands and feet. The dancers in motion, as well as the songs composed for the occasion are known as garbīs).[67] It is significant that this form occurs in the gināns where twenty eight garbīs attributed to Pīr Shams are to be found.[68] It is unfortunate that we have no detailed knowledge of forms from other areas such as Sind and Punjab, except in their later manifestations which build on earlier folk traditions.

The titles given to certain granths indicate that the forms of these gināns also tried to model themselves on the classical works of Indian literature. Among such titles are works entitled Gāyatrī, Naklaṅki Gītā and Atharva Veda.[69] Some granths may properly speaking also be classified as prose narratives, but these are very few in number.

Several long compositions contain a form of appendix called Vel (Sanskrit: Vallī)[70] while a number also exist in a "minor" and a "major" version, a possible indication that one of them was a later composition modelled on the other.

A form developed in Punjab using the genre known as sī harfī, consisting of thirty stanzas, each beginning with one of the thirty letters of the Punjabi alphabet,[71] is also found in the manuscripts, but this mode utilizes the letters of the Arabic alphabet[72] indicating an inspiration within the Muslim literary context.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n39/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The shorter compositions referred to in the manuscripts as gināns use, for the most part a traditional form called pāda (stanza).[73] Generally, the metre in the gināns, which suffers from great inexactitude owing to negligence in transmission and linguistic acculturation, is simple. Each stanza is either formed of chaupāi (quatrains) or dōha (couplets).[74] Stanzas containing more verses do exist in the whole cross section of the gināns but on the whole they reflect these two forms.

For the time being, an overall interpretation of the gināns must be postponed until such time, when much more detailed work has been done on the varied aspects of so complex a tradition. This thesis offers merely a preliminary survey of a field barely as yet investigated and hence makes no pretension of being either definitive or comprehensive. Only a selected number of gināns has been chosen for study, and below are offered some of the criteria that have led to their choice. An annotated list of the gināns referred to and used in the study will be found at the end of the thesis.[75]

The first criterion is that the ginān should be found in the manuscripts, preferably the older ones, also that the particular ginān should recur often enough in the manuscripts to indicate its importance within the whole collection. Where possible I have tried to verify the fact of a ginān's importance in the community by virtue of constant recital in the jamā'at-khāna.[76]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n40/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

or by its connection with religious ceremonies and rituals.

The second criterion relates to the value of the content for the issues being discussed in the thesis. Since the historical spread of the da'wa is one of the major concerns of the thesis, I have selected those gināns that purport to give data on the activities of the dā'īs and from which information relevant to the history of the da'wa and the methods used to propagate the da'wa's teaching, can be culled. Certain gināns are accepted in the community as being the most significant ones in their formulation of the doctrine preached by the da'wa. These gināns comprise, as it were, the main themes of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī doctrine as presented, and accepted by the converts. Being conscious of the need to avoid arbitrariness and to weigh carefully the relative merits allegedly possessed by these gināns, I have selected the few that I consider the most worthy of analysis because of their embodiment of the major themes that are developed in the Tradition.

One other small criterion that has been considered in view of the fact that very few students of Ismā'īlism read Khōjkī, is the availability of the limited texts of the gināns that we have in translation. Where a particular ginān meets the above mentioned criteria and also exists in translation, I have tried to make use of it, so as to make it easily accessible to the reader. However, for the most part, I have had to rely on materials in the original language.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n41/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Ginans as a source of history

The ginans constitute an important source for the history of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī da'wa because some of them contain testimony about the lives and activities of the various dā'īs involved in the work of conversion. This type of testimony may best be described as hagiographic. Generally speaking, hagiographical works, particularly when they embody the oral tradition, have been considered highly suspect in terms of the historical data they provide; and the tendency has been to treat them with great reservation if not total rejection. This tendency stems from a perhaps over-anxious desire to seek the "historical", and the eventual discounting of much of the material as legendary or mythical.[77]

This attitude is reflected by Ivanow who felt that the ginans do not "display any sign of interest in the history of the movement".[78] He failed, in fact, to see that not only were the ginans shot through with historical testimony but also that the data reflected the tradition's own self-image about its development. Like most analysts of hagiographic tradition, Ivanow was too rigid in his demand for"historical facts". Few scholars would today put forward an absolute theory of history whose sole aim was to seek only "actual facts". The search for history is rather a continuous process where interaction takes place between the historian and his facts.[79] This dictum is equally applicable to historians working on written or oral sources, for both require

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n42/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

that they interpret their source material in order to arrive at "some approximation to the ultimate historical truth".[80] The attitude, then, that would seem to be most constructive in approaching the gināns as a source of historical material is that the historian confronted by such a tradition consider himself to be in the same situation as one who studies written sources, in as much as both must interpret and evaluate the data to form a coherent picture of the past. The gināns, however, constitute just one type of source available to us for tracing the history of the da'wa. Ultimately, a methodology of historical reconstruction involves a synthesis of individual methods and a determination of inter-relationships between different classes of data. Once we have understood what the testimony in the gināns means and what its special characteristics are, then we can bring the resulting material into relationship with data gleaned from other sources. But it cannot be unduly emphasized, that a tradition like the gināns, drawing its inspiration as it does from its Ismā'īlī roots, develops its own concept of history, whose ultimate aim is not to give us information in our search for "authentic" figures, but to present a self-image, a mirror of the Tradition's mind where its thinking about its own development is revealed.

The gināns incorporating material on the origins and spread of Nizārī Ismā'īlism, reflect the same phases of deve-

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n43/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

lopment noted in our analysis of the ginans as a whole. They too fall into recognizable though overlapping categories. In the first phase, there is no attempt to evolve a proper hagiographic tradition. There are only oblique references to the key figures of the early period of the da'wa and the seat of the Imām in Iran, all apparently in an attempt to provide an overall ideological framework to link the movement with Nizārī Ismā'īlīsm.

The second stage shows the beginning of an hagiographic tradition in the process of formation. This tradition centered on the earlier dā'īs and probably gave shape to existing oral traditions around these figures. These narrative accounts relate the activities of the dā'īs, their travels and mass conversions and also highlight events like the conversion of great kings, conflicts with figures representing the established religion, and miracles performed by the dā'īs to prove the truth of their mission. The significant aspect of this development is that although the dā'īs are made to operate in a combined Hindu-Muslim milieu most of the time, this phase appears to derive its models from Hindu forms. It has been suggested that there is a likelihood of the hagiographic tradition associated with Gurū Nānak having had its origins in the ancient Hindu digvijaya tradition.[81] This mode had acquired hagiographic usage and tended to describe the spiritual triumphs of great saints. Although a

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n44/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Muslim hagiographic tradition was beginning to emerge in the Sub-continent around the fourteenth century, it can be argued on the basis of parallels which the gināns show with the Hindu tradition, that the pattern of the early narratives had developed in this latter context.

The third stage, however, shows a marked change, and the narratives here show a greater consciousness of chronology and historical sequence. The consolidation of the da'wa, contacts with other Muslims, and the onset of schisms within the movement probably prompted this new phase. The narratives in this phase show a preoccupation with polemics and attempts to provide genealogical links; they also reflect more traces of contact with the hagiography of Muslim writers. Nevertheless, even in this stage, the gināns still retain elements of the earlier gināns from which they continue to draw their material and inspiration. It is important in evaluating the historical data in the gināns, to distinguish the various strands that have gone into the making of the hagiography of the da'wa. The elements that seem to be genuine relics of the ancient Tradition and which form the nucleus of later narratives, need to be isolated. These are very little concerned with imparting objective records of the past; and as the Tradition developed, we find that the true value of the ginān narratives lies in this dual perspective which they give us of the Tradition. One level mirrors the impact and continuing influence

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n45/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of the earlier dā'īs, and the other reveals the beliefs and understanding of the followers at various stages in the community's history.

The Ritual Prayers

Also preserved in the manuscripts are two prayers, one simply called du'ā and the other more specifically Ghaṭ pāṭ - du'ā. It is alleged that these prayers were prepared for the converts in their own language by Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn. The language appears to be Sindhi, but many Arabic and Persian words occur, as well, including verses from the Qur'ān. The importance of these prayers in the daily ritual in the jamā'at-khāna is attested to by the fact that they are preserved in a very large number of manuscripts including the older surviving ones.[82] It is impossible to say how ancient the prayers may be and whether those preserved in the oldest manuscripts have undergone changes or not. There are hints in the gināns pointing to the times of ritual prayer[83] as well as to the ceremony of ghaṭ-pāṭ.[84] It is conceivable that such prayers could have been introduced in the early phases of the da'wa's activities, and the surviving texts may well be modified relics of these ancient ritual prayers.

The fact that these du'ās constituted a central daily ritual among all the widely scattered communities from ancient times, is also corroborated by testimony given in the "Aga Khan"

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n46/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and "Haji Bibi" Cases. Nizārī Ismā'īlī witnesses gathered from all over the Sub-continent testified that they recited the same ritual prayers, in their meetings in the jamā'at-khāna every day, but often referred to them by different Hindu names to avoid possible persecution.[85] By 1905, it is apparent that certain sections in the du'ās had been omitted, in particular those that dealt with the recitation of figures in Hindu Mythology. This was possibly part of an attempt after the period of the two Cases, to make Ismā'īlīs more aware of their Islamic heritage and to minimize Hindu elements in ritual, now that there was less threat of persecution.[86] This tendency is illustrated by the testimony of the head of the community in Punjab, during the "Haji Bibi" Case, who observed that they still continued to recite the Hindu names in the du'ā, to intermarry with the Sikhs, and to burn their dead, in order to conceal their identity and avoid persecution.[87] For all purposes, it would appear, these Ismā'īlīs lived outwardly as Hindus. All the same, for the purposes of our analysis these prayers are important, because their contents provide a pattern of thought, parallel to the gināns.

Lists and Genealogies

An integral part of the two du'ās consisted of the recitation of the names of the Imāms to whom the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs gave allegiance. The list of Imāms begins with 'Alī and continues down

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n47/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

to the Imām of the time when the du'ā was copied. Another list of names that was recited consisted of the pīrs who are alleged to have worked for the respective Imāms. The list of pīrs commences with Muḥammad.

As with the du'ās, we cannot be certain when these lists first came to be fixed and whether they were preserved orally until such time as they came to be recorded. It is probable that once the respective lists of Imāms and their pīrs was fixed, the community in the course of its history continued to make additions according to whoever succeeded to the respective positions. The question of verifying the list of Imāms does not present too many difficulties as the names of the Imāms are well-known in Islamic history. The post-Alamūt period raises a few problems, but as we shall see, there are fortunately additional sources available that make the task easier. It is when we come to the list of pīrs that the question becomes more complicated, since the list also purports to contain the names of those who propagated the da'wa in India. The practice of preserving the names of the Imāms and their pīrs was not confined only to the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs of the Sub-continent. Another such list existed among the communities in Iran,[88] and we are, therefore, in a position to compare the two sets of lists.

Besides the lists there is preserved in the manuscripts a somewhat singular document giving the Shajra (genealogy) of Pīr

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n48/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Shams.[89] It lists all the known descendants of the Pīr probably until the time of writing. An analogous version of this genealogy is to be found among the Imām-Shāhīs as well.[90]

Ivanow unearthed another category of genealogies also called Shajras among the Imām-Shāhīs and the mutawallīs (overseers) of the shrines of the ancient dā'īs.[91] Since the overseers consider both themselves and the dā'īs from whom they allegedly claim descent to be of Sunni persuasion, these Shajras bear interesting comparisons with those preserved by the Nizārī groups. The only other non Nizārī source to preserve a genealogy of the dā'īs is Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī.[92] The respective lists of the Imāms and their pīrs in the key sources are provided in the appendices.[93]

Both the lists and genealogies together constitute a single type of tradition, for "lists can be regarded as genealogies reduced to their simplest form of expression".[94] Also genealogies, in general, must be regarded as highly suspect in terms of distortion of historical material, "because they form the ideological framework with reference to which all political and social relationships are sustained and explained".[95] Such a highly venerated type of tradition undoubtedly deserves consideration, particularly in a close knit community such as the one with which we are dealing. Rent as it was by schisms and prone to considerable secrecy in the face of persecution, the importance of maintaining such lists with which the community could identify in the absence of a more corpo-

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n49/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

rate political or social identity, cannot be underestimated. Nevertheless, such sources cannot be taken for granted, and care must be exercised to evaluate possible interpolations for the purpose of vindicating the rights of a certain group. The existence of a variety of genealogies from differing sources, facilitates this task considerably.

Pandiyāt-i-Jawānmardī

The most tangible evidence for the link between the community in India and the main da'wa in Iran is the existence of the Pandiyāt-i-Jawanmardī copied in Khōjkī characters in the oldest manuscript in the written Tradition.[96] The work is significant because it is one of the few existing texts of the post-Alamūt period, copies of which existed not only among the adherents in Iran, but also in such far flung communities as Chitral and Hunza, as well as the Sub-continent.[97] The work is known to have been compiled from sayings of the Imām in Iran towards the end of the fifteenth century. It is alleged that it was sent subsequently by the Imām as a book of guidance to the community in India, and the Pandiyāt thus found significance as one of the links in the list of pīrs referred to earlier.[98]

Though the Pandiyāt represents the last in our chain of written sources in the manuscripts, there are other categories of sources that need to be considered. The most important of these

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n50/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

are the Nizārī Ismā'īlī materials preserved in Persian.

Persian Nizārī Ismā'īlī Sources

Because this study is concerned to show the continuity and reformulation of major Ismā'īlī concepts, the Tradition must be looked at in the context of previous as well as parallel Ismā'īlī sources elsewhere. The ones that most obviously complement the Tradition are the texts of Nizārī Ismā'īlism that have survived in the Alamūt and post-Alamūt periods. Among the few that did survive the Mongol debacle the most imporatnt are the anonymous Haft bāb-i-Bābā Sayyidnā[99] and the Rawḍat al-taslīm, (also known as Taṣawwurāt) of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.[100] Among later works of the post-Alamūt period reference has been made to the Haft bāb of Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī who died sometime in the early part of the sixteenth century,[101] the works of Khayr Khwāh Harātī, who wrote in the middle of the sixteenth century,[102] the Diwān of Khāksī Khurāsānī, written in the seventeenth century[103] and the works of Pīr Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh who died in 1884.[104]

The thought and works of the famous Nāṣir-i-Khusrav, who was really a dā'ī of the Fāṭimid period, find a constant echo in the works of the post-Alamūt period and still exert a great influence among the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in Iran and around the Upper Oxus.[105] Since the links between the da'wa centres in Iran and India are well attested in the Tradition, I have not hesitated to

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n51/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

refer to Nāṣir-i-Khusrav's works, where they help in elucidating points of doctrine. Likewise although they do not belong strictly to the Persian category of sources, use has been made for comparative purposes of well-known writers and works of the Fāṭimid period, as well as the ancient so-called proto-Ismā'īlī work preserved in Persian entitled Umm al-Kitāb,[106] again to be found among Nizārī Ismā'īlīs of the Upper Oxus region.

Archaeological Sources

One of the most unfortunate aspects concerning the existing shrines of the dā'īs, is an almost total lack of inscriptions providing some data about the individuals allegedly buried there. This lack occurs partly because such shrines were probably built long after the deaths of the dā'īs and also because many of these shrines have been damaged and rebuilt over the centuries. Furthermore, internecine conflicts among the descendants of the dā'īs meant that the shrines were never really looked after properly, and the long neglect has left many of them in a state of decay. Fortunately the same is not the case with inscriptions on some of the tombs of Nizārī Ismā'īlī Imāms discovered by Ivanow in Iran. We possess very little information about the period and residence of these Imāms, and the inscriptions are therefore particularly valuable in locating this data, more so, since besides the mausoleums of some later Imāms we find the graves of Indian Ismā'īlīs with inscriptions

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n52/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

in Khōjkī letters.[107]

Future archaeological work on the Sub-continent may reveal the period and type to which the shrines of the pīrs belong; until then one can only bemoan the fact of the steady disintegration of such monuments.

Geographical, Ethnological and Modern Works

Works by medieval Muslim travellers in India contain no direct reference to either the da'wa or its adherents. Their usefulness in our case is therefore confined to data on geographical and cultural features of the area. In some works of British and European travellers there are passing references to the existence of Ismā'īlī groups. Of far greater value are the materials provided by Government Gazeteers and ethnological works undertaken in the period of British rule. These provide invaluable ethnographic and related data which supplements information gleaned from Court Cases such as the "Aga Khan" and "Haji Bibi" Cases.

A wide variety of modern, secondary literature has also come into existence since the last century. The earliest of these was undertaken by the Imām Shāhī Sayyids, but as Ivanow has pointed out, the biographical information there on the early dā'īs is based mostly on materials in the gināns.[108] The most important extant work among these is the Manāzil al-Aqṭab wa basāṭīn al-aḥbāb written in Persian.[109] The others that follow are for the most part in

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n53/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Gujarati and of a polemical bent. Among these the most important are Gulzār-i-Shams (in Urdu),[110] Khōjā Vrttant (1892),[111] Khōjā Kōmnō Itihās (1905),[112] Tawārikh-i-Pīr (1914),[113] Pirāna Satpanth ni Pōl (1926), Noorum Mubin (1926),[115] all in Gujarati. The real worth of all these works lies in the incorporation of hitherto unrecorded oral tradition.

We now come to a consideration of the final source of our survey. This last category represents data based on the field work conducted, references to which have already been made earlier. The writing of history from unwritten sources or that based on the "heritage of the ears" has now begun to receive the attention it deserves, particularly in the context of those societies where a written tradition did not exist.[116] Though most of the materials related to this study have been recorded in writing, the contention, that whatever little oral tradition or other analysable survival from the past may exist such as religious rituals and practices, is a relevant and indispensable source for the reconstruction of history, holds true for the Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition as well. During the field work, therefore, an attempt was made to gather as much of the extant oral tradition in the community as possible and to use it as a yardstick for checking elements that have already been recorded in modern works. With regard to ritual and practice, reliance also had to be placed on information gathered from the older generation of adherents, as most of the relevant practices

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n54/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

have been modified or have dropped out completely in recent times. The gināns still constitute a continuing reality, and by observing them at work one gets some idea of their relevance and value for the earlier converts among whom the gināns emerged, and for whom they had formed a "living tradition". Such observed or oral data ultimately constitute one type of source and have real value only when they are used to correlate data obtained from other types of sources. Thus we learn that in a study of this kind, not only do we possess different types of data, but also that we need constantly to revise and refine our methods of research. This need makes it increasingly difficult to confine oneself to one set method, and it is hoped that the methodological issues raised by the survey of the sources, as well as the thesis in general, will prompt the sort of multi-disciplinary approach that is needed in this complex field.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n55/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

PART ONE

THE HISTORY

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n56/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

Pre-Nizārī Ismā'īlism in India

It is fundamental to the study of movements such as Ismā'īlism, that the historical context in which they spread be understood clearly, and it is only in this way that one can hope to understand the intellectual assumptions of the movement in relation to the technique of propagation adopted by the da'wa. Thus it will be useful, before proceeding to lay out the lines along which the da'wa spread, to set out systematically the state, nature and temper of the society it penetrated, and to trace Ismā'īlī antecedents in the area.

Among the earliest contacts that Ismā'īlī elements had with India is one mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh. In his history of the Ismā'īlīs prior to the establishment of the Fāṭimid Caliphate, he states that one wing of the da'wa was to work in "Sind and Hind" and then later states more specifically that among the sons of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, some had established themselves around Khurasan and Qandahār, in the vicinity of Sind.[1] Stern has shown that in Rashīd al-Dīn's accounts of the da'wa there is a certain amount of confusion;[2] and though we may not credit all of the details contained in them, we can at least be certain that Sind

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n57/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

must have represented one of the targets for the da'wa even in its earliest days.

Ismā'īlī sources on the other hand, make first mention of the da'wa's work in Sind, in relation with the arrival of a dā'ī there in 883. He was al-Haytham, sent by the well known Yemenite dā'ī Abū al-Qāsim b. Ḥawshab, otherwise known as Manṣūr al-Yaman.[3] There is no further mention of the succeeding seventy years or so beyond the fact that the "da'wa is still existing in Sind", in the Iftitāḥ al-da'wa (which was written in 907). It had also apparently spread to neighboring areas like Gujarat.[4]

Earlier travellers such as al-Mas'ūdī who visited Multan in 912 and al-Iṣṭakhrī, who wrote ca. 930-933, speak of the rulers of Multan as being Quraysh, of the line of Banū Sāma,[5] so presumably the da'wa had not yet attained any political success.

Further Ismā'īlī sources, however, introduce us to a dā'ī who had success in winning over one of the rulers of Sind and established a Fāṭimid principality over the area. The dā'ī, however, adopted a permissive attitude towards converts to Ismā'īlism in the area, and certain un-Islamic practices were retained by them. This caused concern in the Fāṭimid court in North Africa, where the Caliph al-Mu'izz was placed in a predicament regarding the course to be taken in dismissing the dā'ī. A riding accident to the dā'ī ended the dilemma, and a new dā'ī, Ḥalam (or Ḥalīm) b. Shaybān was appointed. He was instrumental in furthering the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n58/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Ismā'īlī cause and victorious in his attempts to offset opposing elements. He also adopted a stricter line towards undesirable practices, destroying an idol and building a mosque in its place. A letter to the above Ḥalam from the Caliph al-Mu'izz, congratulating him on his work, is dated 965; and Stern places the events surrounding the undesirable dā'ī around 958-59.[7]

Al-Muqaddasī who visited Multan in 985, pointed out that the city was Shī'a and that the khuṭba was recited in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph. He said also that they conducted their affairs according to instructions from Egypt, where they sent continuous envoys and gifts.[8]

It is interesting to conjecture at this point the various attractions that Sind had in terms of Fāṭimid plans for spreading their influence. Two factors emerge clearly. One is the geographical position of Sind vis-à-vis the operational da'wa centre of the area of the time - the Yemen.[9] Oman, so Rashīd al-Dīn tells us, was one of the objectives of the da'wa,[10] and that may well have served as a stepping-stone to spreading Ismā'īlī influence eastwards. The relatively independent status of the principalities before the Fāṭimid take-over also needs to be considered. Though in al-Muqaddasī's time, al-Manṣūra, which he calls the capital of Sind, was under a ruler paying homage to the 'Abbāsids, on the whole, the area still remained relatively independent and remote from the centres of power in the Muslim world.[11] Here, then, was

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n59/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

an opportunity to establish a principality that would serve as a secure foothold in the eastern Muslim world. The second factor, which is equally important, was that of trade. By the fourth century and during the heyday of Fāṭimid rule under al-Mu'izz, economic activity in North Africa flourished considerably.[12] Lewis has tried to show that the Fāṭimids were attempting to wrest the India trade out of the hands of Baghdad,[13] and Goitein, from his studies of the Geniza papers, has revealed the predominance of merchants from North Africa in the India trade.[14] Admittedly, the little that we know of the history of economic activity in Islam and its influence on the political conditions of the time does not permit any substantial conclusions. We can be certain, however, that with the India trade becoming the backbone of the international economy in the Islamic World,[15] economic and social factors were important in Fāṭimid expansionism towards Sind.[16]

Another aspect of the da'wa in Sind in terms of problems of unifying doctrine in Fāṭimid territories, which Stern has dealt with in some detail, also helps to throw more light on the nature and function of the da'wa's role in the Ismā'īlī policy, and may bear comparison later with the work on the Nizārī da'wa. From a study of works such as the Da'ā'im al-Islām of Qāḍī al-Nu'mān,[17] it is possible to trace the attempts of the Fāṭimid Caliphs to provide a common basis for their heterogenous and widely-scattered adherents. The diversity of such adherents was potentially a

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n60/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

seed-bed for the rise of a wide variety of heterodox beliefs, particularly in the case of Sind, where the converts brought with them a deeply-rooted background of varied practices. In view of the diverse nature of existing faiths in Sind at the time, the problems must have caused considerable anxiety.[18] The da'wa, though it worked in close co-operation with the central authority, yet for practical purposes functioned independently in the various Fāṭimid spheres of influence, and much depended on the dā'ī in charge. The policy of al-Mu'izz, insofar as it is possible to determine, seems to have been one of emphasizing the Islamic tradition and not compromising with what were regarded as un-Islamic practices.[19] By establishing a principality, linked to a thriving trade and cemented by a common ideology and allegiance, the Fāṭimids hoped to build their cohesive confederation of states; in this light it is easier to understand why the insistence on a strict adherence to a common system of beliefs was so important and necessary.

The subsequent history of the principality is virtually unknown until such time as Maḥmūd of Ghazna put an end to Ismā'īlī rule in Multan. The ruler of Multan, Abū al-Fatḥ Dā'ūd b. Naṣr had had friendly relations with Amīr Sabuktigīn. Nevertheless, Maḥmūd, the latter's successor, apparently in order to enforce orthodoxy, marched against him, in 1006. The enforcement was particularly cold-blooded, and hundreds of Ismā'īlīs were said to have been slaughtered.[20] After a short lull, Maḥmūd revisited Multan and

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n61/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

delivered the coup de grâce, completely subjugating the province.[21] Hamdani argues that, at the time of this persecution, the Ismā'īlīs may have gathered around al-Manṣūra and allied themselves with its Habbārid rulers. Maḥmūd, however, put paid to the rule in al-Manṣūra also, in 1025.[22] Stern feels that "the later phases of the history of Ismā'īlism in Sind and in India stand in no direct connection with this first successful attempt to establish territorial rule in Sind".[23] However, in due course we find that though Ismā'īlī sovereignty had been broken, Ismā'īlī adherents still continued to persist under the adverse conditions. Furthermore, there is the curious resurgence of the Sūmrā dynasty in the political life of Sind, which reveals definite Ismā'īlī tendencies, albeit in a quite transformed fashion.[24] That the Ismā'īlī da'wa had not ceased its activity in Hind, we know from certain letters to the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir (who ruled from 1036-94) to the Ismā'īlīs in Yemen. Two of the letters establish that in fact dā'īs to India were being appointed and replaced at death, all the time.[25] That Ismā'īlism was still a factor of some consequence is attested to by the fate of a wazīr of Maḥmūd, Ḥasnak who was put to death by Mas'ūd, Maḥmūd's successor, on a charge of having Ismā'īlī sympathies.[26] The exact nature of the da'wa's work and its relations with the Fāṭimids in Egypt remains obscure. No doubt, the purging of the Ismā'īlīs must have led to a change in policy by the Fāṭimids in Sind, and it is quite probable that links were maintained through

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n62/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

their allies, the Ṣulayḥids of Yemen, who kept the da'wa alive in India.[27]

The task of defining the role and nature of the Sūmrā dynasty, as Elliot has remarked, "is one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in the history of Muhammadan India".[28] They are first mentioned in an epistle written in 1033 by the Druze leader Muqtana' to one Shaykh Sūmar Rājibāl, Chief of the Unitarians, and seems to indicate a considerable following. Whether in fact this Sūmar Rājibāl was the head of the da'wa in Sind is difficult to say. He must certainly have had Ismā'īlī affiliations, nonetheless, since Muqtana', after exhorting the leader to accept the Druze creed, asks him "to publish the hitherto secret doctrines of the sect".[29] There can thus be no doubt that some variety of Ismā'īlism was surviving covertly after the purges of Maḥmūd. Further accounts can only be culled by piecing together information we have from later sources. Continued "Qarmatian" activity is mentioned by the thirteenth century writer Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārakshāh. After the death of Sultan Mas'ūd in 1040, the Ismā'īlīs are said to have revolted in Multan under the son of Dā'ūd "whom the Carmathians called the Sheikh". When faced with the Ghaznawīd army, however, they fled to al-Manṣūra.[30] The writer seems very vulnerable on minor points of historical accuracy; the exact details, therefore, may remain open to question.[31] If the "Sheikh" mentioned above were the same as Shaykh Sūmar of the Druze epistle, then it

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n63/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

would confirm further the connection between the Ismā'īlīs and the Sūmrās. This can further be tied up with the account by Mīr Ma'ṣūm of an uprising of the "men of Sumra" who placed a man called Sūmrā on the throne. This was during the reign of 'Abd al-Rashīd around 1051.[32] Since Hamdani has already made an attempt to reconstruct the history of the Sūmrās, it would be repetitious to go over the details again, and here we can only note the continuity of Ismā'īlī activity in the area, and go on to examine certain incidents relating to the subsequent period, which may help to throw further light.

As the Ghūrid power eclipsed that of the Ghaznawīds, so the latter's domination in India came to an end.[33] The Ghūrid ruler, Shihāb al-Dīn, relates Jūzjānī, "led his forces to Multan and delivered that place from the hands of the Qarmatians, in 1175".[34] Previously, we are told, during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn (who ruled from 1149-61), "malāḥida emissaries came to him from Alamūt and he treated them with great reverence". His successor Sayf al-Dīn, however,adopted a harsher policy towards them.[35] Shihāb al-Dīn's policy in Sind therefore can be construed to be a continuation of the trend of rooting out Ismā'īlīs, wherever they could be found. Presumably, the object of his attack was a successor of Sūmar Rājibāl. 'Alā' al-Dīn was assassinated in 1206. Jūzjānī lays the deed at the door of the Malāḥida, but there is considerable confusion surrounding the many reports that are available about the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n64/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

assassination.[36] The Nizārī Ismā'īlī power in Alamūt to which Jūzjānī evidently refers was often made the scapegoat for a number of assassinations, and in view of the writer's affiliations it is apparent that this was one more case in kind.[37] It seems more likely that the incident had no bearing on Ismā'īlī activity in India at all. This becomes further evident in the reporting of another episode that took place, in 1236 during the reign of Queen Radiyya. A group of Qarāmiṭa and Malāḥida, under one Nūr Turk gathered at Delhi from the surrounding regions of Gujarat and Sind. They attacked the Masjid one Friday, and a general melee ensued. The rebellion was eventually put down.[38] Hamdani connects this Nūr Turk with one of the Sūmrā leaders Muḥammad Tōr, and it is also thought that he may be the same person as Nūr Satgūr, traditionally recognized as the first of the Nizārī dā'īs in India.[39] Khaliq Nizami has, however, sufficiently demonstrated that Nūr Turk had nothing to do with Ismā'īlīs and that the "real nature of the event has been obscured by the conflicts and controversies that marred the relations of Nūr Turk with the Sunni 'ulamā' of the day".[40] We are fortunate in possessing some valuable testimony on the make-up and cultural habits of the Sūmrās from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the fourteenth century Arab traveller. He labels them "Sāmira" and states that they had been entrenched in the area for a long time. They were exclusive in their eating habits and also in matters of marriage. Their centre was a place called Janānī;

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n65/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

their leader was Wunār. He himself was a Muslim but governed over both Hindus and Muslims.[41] What, in fact, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's observations confirm is the existence of vestiges of converted groups from among the Ismā'īlī principality in Sind, and the existence of Hindu customs may either represent an inward orientation after the Ismā'īlī expulsion or else a reflection of taqīya. Various factors prevalent after the downfall of the Ismā'īlī state in India complicate the definition of the da'wa's activity in India. First there was the break-up of the Fāṭimid da'wa itself into two after the death of al-Mustanṣir. While the reports we have covered mention clashes with the Nizārī elements in areas west of Sind, there is no specific evidence to establish any links between the Nizārīs and the Sūmrās in Sind at that time. On the other hand the Musta'lian branch and then later the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlism with its affiliation to Yemen bring another dimension to the issue.[42] The Ṭayyibī da'wa continued its activities in India, through its adherents in Yemen, but again we are at a loss for evidence to connect them with the Sūmrās.[43] A further major factor is the complex of military invasions and power struggles between warring groups such as the Ghaznawīds and the Ghūrids in India. The instability this must have caused would have precluded any attempts to centralize and unify scattered groups of Ismā'īlīs. Consequently one suspects that a group like the Sūmrās attempted to isolate themselves and work out a different identity within

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n66/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the complex alignment of forces. Their Ismā'īlism would have either to be disguised or dispensed with altogether if they were to escape being associated with the Malāḥida, and hence persecuted. This also explains why in the course of time, such groups could have been absorbed into the Sunni faith by ṣūfī saints.[44] A somewhat later, but nevertheless interesting, episode is related in the Tradition about the unsuccessful attempt of a sixteenth century dā'ī called Dādū to win back Ismā'īlīs in Punjab who had become Sunnis, but he was expelled from Sind and had to take refuge in Gujarat.[45]

Hamdani has suggested that after 1094 the Sūmrās may have struck out on an independent line,[46] but as we approach the main portion of our historical survey, it must be admitted that until some more material comes to light, the various strands of Ismā'īlism that were developing at that time must remain very much entangled. Perhaps the most significant element is that Ismā'īlī activity in the area was far from having been obliterated, an indication of a tenacity of purpose, one aspect of which was to lead to the rise and development of Nizārī Ismā'īlism.

The Political and Social Milieu

The invasions of Maḥmūd of Ghazna into India and subsequent Muslim incursions had certain far-reaching effects on the nature of the political, social and religious structure of the area. The following digression, prior to our entering the mainstream of the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n67/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

study of the Nizārī da'wa is offered by way of tracing certain general trends related to the situation in India after Mahmūd's invasion and up to the fifteenth century.

Perhaps the single, most decisive effect of the waves of Muslim invasion of the the eleventh and twelfth centuris, and succeeding dynastic wars between the Ghaznawīds and Ghūrids, was a disruption of the power structures prevalent in the area at the time.[47] The scattered Hindu kingdoms, particularly in Northern India, succumbed within an extremely short period.[48] By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Delhi Sultanate was beginning to entrench itself in Northern India, consolidating the advances made possible by the Indian campaigns of the Ghūrids, their predecessors. The beginning of a more centralized power structure over Northern India, as well as Sind, to replace the political fragmentation of the area, was in the making.[49]

Another factor which accompanied Muslim entrenchment in the area, was the growth of a Muslim society, co-existing with the indigenous people in a now more pluralistic society. Once a free and uniterrup ed intercourse was established between areas like Sind and Punjab and the Muslim countries to the north and northeast, immigration of Muslims helped to swell numbers and bring about the rise of an Islamic society.[50] The most important of these in terms of attempts to convert and breach the conflicting nature of the two cultures were the ṣūfīs. Earlier, of course, there had been conversions of Hindus on a significant scale, as in the Ismā'īlī and Sūmrā cases.[51] All the same; the differences of belief and instinct of communal self-preservation of the Hindus

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n68/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

on the one hand and that of proselytization by the Muslims on the other, cannot have failed to generate considerable friction. If al-Bīrūnī is to be considered any judge of the attitudes that came about, the invasions were accompanied by the "most inveterate aversions" on both sides.[52] Though contemporary accounts of how the actual conversions took place are scarce, once the mystics began to organize themselves into silsilas (ṭarīqās) the part they must have played in their more intimate and spiritually sensitive policy of intermingling with the people, cannot be underestimated.[53]

The response of the indigenous peoples to the growth of a foreign dominated, plural society still needs to be studied in detail. The caste system continued, and the essential features of the old social and religious systems remained without much change.[54] What is more difficult to surmise if the attitude that developed among the various Hindu groups to the new power structure. There may have been a tendency towards isolationism, bordering on apathy.[55] We are told that even the ṣūfīs showed an aversion to contacts with the state.[56] At best, perhaps, the pluralistic society was leading to a mosaic of isolated communities either tied together by caste affiliations, or, as in the case of the ṣūfīs, attached to a silsila. Notwithstanding the ruling and the military classes, the broad base of the social order must have been these groupings, both socially and religiously unintegrated

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n69/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and, furthermore, alienated from what might, for lack of better terms, be called the military ruling class. (In addition there were the 'ulamā' whose role depended on the functions they served inside or outside the state machinery).[57]

The age-old, well-established commercial links were further solidified by increased contacts with the wider Islamic world. The sea route between Aden and India created important links with Gujarat,[58] and al-Idrīsī testifies to a thriving trade between Muslim merchants and the ruler of Gujarat.[59] Trading contacts with Gujarat had evidenced a steady increase since Muslim contacts with Sind were consolidated. Byt the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, trading communities had established themselves in places like Patan and Cambay.[60] Mosques had been built, and we have inscriptions attesting to the fact that a thriving Muslim community had emerged in Gujarat. One of these inscriptions indicates the cultivation of literature among the migrants.[61] Though this epitaph is in Persian, there is another far more interesting case of a great deal of interaction as well as co-operation among the Muslims and the local inhabitants. A bilingual inscription from Somnatha Patan records the endowment of a mosque to a group of the city's Muslim inhabitants by Nakhu Noradīn Pīroja, the son of Khōjā Naū Abū Brāhīma of Hurmujadesh (i.e.Hurmuz). Having had a mosque built, he wished to make specific bequests for the purposes of maintaining the mosque and other daily provisions

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n70/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

relating to its upkeep and for the appointment of a mu'allim, a mu'adhdhin and a qāri'. Moreover, a sort of administrative board comprising various jamā'ats (congregations) was to administer the trust. What is significant about these jamā'ats is that they indicate a heterogenous group working at miscellaneous occupations, ranging from seafaring to masonry. They all appear to have been organized loosely in some form of guild organization with headmen.

The inscription also makes mention of the congregations as being devoted to the "martyr of martyrs" - a possible reference to the practice of Muharram among the Shī'a, indicating that some of them may have been of Shī'ī persuasion. One other factor of importance is that the shipmaster is spoken of as having established friendly ties with the local ruler Rāja Chada. The date of the inscription is given in four eras - the Hijrī as well as three Indian Calendars, and corresponds to the year 1264 A.D.[62]

The importance of such inscriptions is their revelation that by the thirteenth century an extensive and varied Muslim community had begun to emerge in Northern India representing diverse occupational patterns and possibly diverse religious affiliations, as well. Moreover, they were also striving to establish linguistic and cultural harmony with the local population within the new milieu.

The overall picture that one gets from an admittedly very sketchy outline serves to emphasize that the complex society of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n71/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

medieval India, like that of medieval Islam generally, defies any single cut-and-dried definition. It reflects an intricate and changing pattern of varying elites, vested interests, and classes, mirrored against a plurality of social, ethnic and religious groups.

Simultaneously with the period of flux in India, the Ismā'īlīs outside India too were undergoing considerable change of fortune. After the split between the supporters of Nizār and Musta'lī in 1094, three major spheres of Ismā'īlī activity took shape. The first was the puppet Fāṭimid Caliphate which continued at Cairo, until it was finally ended by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1171.[63] The second was the Ṣulayḥid dynasty of Yemen, which in turn associated itself with the adherents of Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlism, and, as mentioned earlier, maintained contacts with India.[64] The third was Nizārī Ismā'īlism, which under the leadership of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, entered in Lewis' words "a period of intensive development in doctrine and in political action and for a while played an important and dramatic role in the affairs of Islam".[65]

In the Saljūq dominions and the Iranian Highlands there existed a number of Ismā'īlī cells that had been established earlier under the Fāṭimid da'wa. The so-called new da'wa of the Nizārīs, set about to construct a state based on a confederation of these "cells", aiming at a decentralized pattern. This atomization of power, as Hodgson has suggested, was appropriate to the times

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n72/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

as, after Malik Shāh's reign, the Saljūq dominions were parcelled out to the individual commanders. Thus, if the Ismā'īlīs wished to overcome the Saljūqs they had to subdue them piecemeal.[66] Two important developments relating to the Nizārīs and the Islamic world in general need to be clarified here. The first is the violent confrontation, not only at the political level,[67] that their state generated, but also the tremendous religious antipathy that they aroused in orthodox circles.[68] Jūzjānī, as we have earlier noted, exemplified this attitude in many ways in his accounts of the Nizārīs.[69] The Nizārīs, realizing perhaps, after the Fāṭimid failure and more so after the fall of Alamūt, the futility of their aspirations of "universalism", adopted a more inward-looking attitude, intensified no doubt by the rejection of the rest of the Islamic world. This then represents the second development, an interiorization of aspiration directed more in devotion to the Imām, through which the whole religious outlook of the Nizārīs was becoming more personalized - even "ṣūfic".[70]

Religious Trends in the Milieu

The historical setting gives some idea of the antipathy of the ruling class towards all forms of malāḥida (including the Ismā'īlīs). The emerging Muslim society, however, appears at the earlier stage to be a fairly fluid one, with the trading communities deepening their roots in the area and being augmented all the time

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n73/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

by waves of immigrants from the neighboring parts of Dār al-Islām. It is in the field of emerging religious trends, among both the Hindus and Muslims, that we must look for areas within which a heterodox movement like the Nizārī da'wa could weave its message and camouflage itself against the complex fabric of Indo-Muslim society, so as not to make its aims and ambitions overtly apparent.

At the time that Muslim invasions and subsequently Islamic institutions, began to have an impact on Hindu society and thought particularly in Northern India, the Hindu religious tradition was itself undergoing reaction and change. For the Hindus at large, the essence of organized religion meant the according of authority to the brāhmins (priestly class) and through them to the scriptures, the Vedas and Purāṇas. The conduct of religious life involved the performance of customary rites and adherence to the individual's position within the caste structure of society.[71]

One of the manifestations of religious transformation taking place within Hinduism, which has some relevance to our study, was the rise of the tradition of Vaishnava Bhakti, which had spread from the South to Northern India.[72] From the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the Bhakti movement grew rapidly and came into contact with Islam in Northern India.[73] The main feature of the Bhakti movement was its emphasis on the religious response of love directed to one of the avatāras of Vishnu. In due course, it inspired the rise of well known saints like Kabīr and Gurū Nānak.[74]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n74/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The school of Śaivism also played a dominant part in the religious life of the Hindus during this period. The strong revival centred around the deity Śiva is evident in the iconography and inscription of the time and shows that the cult predominated all over India, commanding the adherence of many rulers, including the famous King of Gujarat, Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. The manifestation of the universe was thought to be effected through the power (śakti) of Siva; and this creative energy, spoken of as his feminine aspect, came eventually to be personified as a deity. Their union gave rise to the development of a family alliance of divinities and was eventually responsible for popularizing the cult of "Mothers", which became celebrated in the worship of female deities, an echo of which is to be found in events surrounding the composition of Garbīs mentioned earlier in our sources.[75]

Another tradition emerging around this time and representing a compound of elements derived mainly from Vaishṇava Bhakti and from the ancient tradition of Tantric Yoga, was the Sant Tradition. The Sants in due course even managed to evolve a language to express their beliefs, a medium approximating more to the daily usage of the common people.[76] The Sant tradition, like the later Bhakti one, also drew a certain inspiration, perhaps only a marginal one, from sūfism in the sourse of the interaction that took place between the various streams of mystical thought.

At the popular level also there began to flourish legends

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n75/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

surrounding Kṛishṇa and his dalliance with the gopīs (cowherd girls). Kṛishṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu belongs to the mainstream of Vaishaṇavism, and we can attribute the marked increase of interest in him as a result of the compostion of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. It is believed that the Purāṇa was composed in the ninth or tenth century, and it contains the most detailed accounts of Kṛishṇa and his activities.[77]

A slow diffusion of the solar cult had also taken place, which we know from Muslim writings to have had its centre in Multan.[78] Since a solar motif does appear in the ginān narratives, it is important to note the role the cult played in the religious life and beliefs of the period.

The rise of Islamic society was accompanied by the transplanting of various schools and levels of Muslim thought on to Indian soil. As Anne Marie Schimmel has observed, the thirteenth century was the "high time of mysticism from Anatolia, and Egypt to Delhi and likewise the high time of Persian literature in India not less than in Iran proper".[79] An appraisal, therefore, of the way in which organized ṣūfism entered and established itself on the Sub-continent is vital as a prelude to the emergence of the Nizārī da'wa which, as has already been underlined, was developing a "ṣūfic" pattern.

A typical example of the way in which a ṣūfī ṭarīqa became established is afforded by the life and work of Bahā' al-Dīn

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n76/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Zakariyyā. He had gone to Baghdad during his travels and become a member of the Suhrawardī order. From Baghdad he was asked to return to Multan to represent the order there and to establish a centre from which it could spread. He is said to have been successful in attracting both Muslims and Hindus into the fold of the Ṭarīqa, and by the time he died in 1264 he had carved out a large territorial jurisdiction for the order. His work was eventually carried on by his son and grandson so that the Suhrawardī Order became one of the most important orders in the area.[80]

Another instructive example is that of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. He was born in 1175 near Multan, and having received his initial religious instruction there, he moved to Delhi where he attached himself to Khwāja Quṭb al-Dīn Bhaktiyār, the disciple of the famous Chishtī saint Shaykh Mu'īn al-Dīn. In due course Shaykh Farīd became the head of the Chishtī Ṭarīqa.[81] He appointed from among his disciples various khalīfas (representatives) who set up Chishtī centres in all parts of the country. One of the most well known was Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā who eventually became his successor as head of the Ṭarīqa.[82]

Two factors related to development of these ṭarīqas bear interesting implications. One was the concept of territorial jurisdiction developed by them, whereby no other ṭarīqa could impinge on the territory of the other.[83] The various hospices or jamā'at

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n77/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

khānas as they were also called were spread all over the Sub-continent and were linked together by their common adherence to the ṭarīqa through its head, the Shaykh. The khalīfas, or representatives represented local jurisdictions. In this way a loose form of territorial domination based on a spiritual alliance was established within the political framework of the ruling Sultanate.[84] Potentially, this was a situation where a conflict could easily arise between the ruling classes and the Shaykh, and it is interesting that the two main ṭarīqas developed contrasting attitudes towards their relationship with the state. Whereas the leaders of the Suhrawardī Ṭarīqa mingled with royalty and maintained very intimate and cordial relations with the Court, even to the extent of emulating a courtly atmosphere in their own organization, the Chishtī leaders kept themselves away from the Court, shunning close contacts with the rulers, and reflecting this apolitical attitude in the ascetic and traditionally simple pattern in their own hospices.[85]

The second factor of significance relates to the relationship between the ṣūfīs and the upholders of the Sharī'a, namely the 'ulamā' and the qāḍīs. In general the ṭarīqa "took special care to resolve its differences with the orthodoxy".[86] Al-Hujwīrī's work, among the earliest we have written in Muslim India on ṣūfī doctrine, sets the pattern in integrating exoteric and esoteric elements of Islam:

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n78/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

> The exoteric aspect of truth without the esoteric is hypocrisy and the esoteric without the exoteric is heresy. So with regards to the Law mere formality is defective and mere spirituality is vain.[87]

The trend continued among the various ṣūfī orders, but exceptions were not unknown.[88]

In this way the two organized forms of Muslim religious life, the ṣūfī and the Sharī'ī continued to co-exist without generating any particular acrimony; and as we shall see, whenever instances of persecution by the rulers and the 'ulamā' took place, this was directed to individuals or groups who not only represented heretical tendencies in their eyes, but who also constituted a potential threat to the established order.

A general consensus appears to have developed on the point that the mutual interaction of Hindu and Muslim communities, particularly in matters of religious life, "touched merely the fringe and the external element of their existence".[89] It has also been suggested that the "principle of revulsion has been more obviously at work than the principle of attraction".[90] This consensus notwithstanding, the realities of mutual influence and reciprocity, especially at the level of social life and customs, cannot be discounted. Whereas it may be proper to question or disagree over the relative intensity of reciprocal influences, the rise of individuals and movements outside the established religious institutions that had great appeal for the masses, shows

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n79/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

that the interaction did generate positive aspects. It was among the circle of Muslim mystics that the most sympathetic attempts at correlation took place. The Chishtī saints allowed Hindus into their organization without demanding formal conversion, and correspondingly a number of mystic practices were borrowed from Hindu yogis.[91] Thus the principle of repulsion may have been operative at the levels of established political and religious authority, but it is at the popular level that we must look for and strive to understand the more constructive elements resulting from Hindu-Muslim confluence.

The broad features resulting from the coming of Islam to India, corresponding trends among Hindus, Muslims and Ismā'īlīs, therefore serve both as a background and a point of departure in the investigation of the beginnings of the Nizārī da'wa on the Sub-continent.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n80/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

CHAPTER III

FIRST PHASE: EMERGENCE

Ideally, the reconstruction of the spread of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī da'wa in Hind and Sind should offer a connected account that integrates the testimony of the gināns and related traditions with details from other sources. The nature of the historical material in the gināns, as we have seen earlier, precludes such a possibility, and since the materials provided by the rest of our sources are scanty at best, it would seem futile even to attempt to write such an historical account. But, once again, summarily to dismiss the accounts in the gināns as a source of history would be merely to distort their real value. Though these accounts are certainly not aimed at enhancing our knowledge of the past, they, nevertheless, historicize and thus can be construed to have an historical aim. Once we have grasped the levels at which the narratives project this sense, then we can proceed to analyse the testimony in conjunction with other sources to provide at least an outline of the main features.

The figure traditionally associated with the origins of the da'wa in India, is given the appelation Satgur Nūr, and below is a prose synopsis of two narratives that relate his activities:[92]

1. Satgur Nūr came to Jambu-dvīpa from Śahetar-dvīpa[93] via the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n81/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

city of Bhildi[94] and proceeded to Pātan in Gujarat.[95] The ruler Jaysimha[96] was a very benevolent and devoted king and worshipped at a specially erected temple. Satgur Nūr reached this temple and after entering it came to the idol which the King worshipped and placed his foot on it. The temple attendant sighting this intruder dressed in Muslim garb came and asked him why he had committed this sacrilegious act. Satgur Nūr countered by saying that if, indeed, the idol represented Divinity, it ought to be able to speak. The attendant, somewhat confused, replied that it was but an idol, made out of stone, and could not speak. Satgur Nūr then proceeded to demonstrate to the attendant his miraculous powers by ordering the idol to speak. The whole temple erupted into music, and all the idols began to sing and dance. The attendant fell to his knees before Satgur Nūr and then hastened to call the King. The King, astonished by the event, summoned Yogi Janipa who was well known for his miraculous powers and accompanied by his Court set out for the temple. When he saw the scene in the temple, he realized that Satgur Nūr was nothing less than the "Master of the Three Worlds"[97] and prostrating himself at Satgur Nūr's feet, he marvelled at the power of the saint to make the idol speak. Satgur Nūr went on further to display his power and commanded the idol of Ganeśa[98] to fetch water so that everyone could wash his hands and feet. Ganeśa took

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n82/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

a vessel and went to the big lake in the city, and as soon as he dipped it into the water, the whole lake became empty. He returned to the temple where Satgur Nūr washed his hands and feet. Meanwhile a hue and cry had arisen in the city, and all the fish and crocodiles in the lake were floundering for life. The people came running to the King with the tale, and Satgur Nūr at once ordered Ganesa to throw a little water back into the lake. Once more the lake became full of water.

Yogi Janipa[99] then challenged Satgur Nūr by throwing his staff into the sky and defied him to bring it down. The saint commanded his shoe to go skyward and literally beat the staff down. A yoginī then came forward to challenge the saint. She had the power to swallow a snake and then cause it to be ejected. Satgur Nūr commanded the snake to remain in her stomach causing the yoginī to go into convulsions. The miracles so astonished all the yogis that they threw themselves at his feet and presented their earrings to him. In all, the weight of the rings amounted to five maunds. Janipa too, prostrated himself before Satgur Nūr and asked to be forgiven and guided towards the right path. After that the King and Queen adopted the faith, and Satgur Nūr appealed to the King to treat the people with love and affection and to lead them to the true faith. He also urged the yogis to try to earn a livelihood and to pay Dasond[100] and entreated the various castes to live together in harmony.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n83/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The various yogis who originally had belonged to the Vanya or Kanbi castes, took up their respective livelihoods. The whole city was converted, and everyone heaped praise on Satgur Nūr. The city became known as Pīrnu Pātaṇ.[101] Satgur Nūr then initiated the King into the mysteries and taught him always to tread the path of Satpanth.

The second narrative traces Satgur Nūr's activities in Dharanāgarī after his exploits in Pātaṇ.

2. Having arrived in a nearby forest, he attracts all the animals and birds around him, by his melodious singing. The King of Dharanāgarī, Surchand, had a beautiful daughter named Palande who had vowed to taste venison cooked by herself every-day for as long as it took her to discover the man who would be her bridegroom.[102] On that particular day her huntsman was unable to find a single deer, and then stumbling upon Satgur Nūr, he found all the animals gathered around him. He then recounted to the saint the importance of obtaining the venison in order that the princess might fulfil her vow, and Satgur Nūr commanded one of the deer to give some of its flesh to the huntsman. He returned to the Princess and narrated his experiences in the jungle. The Princess cooked the meat and tasted it and at once she realized that the man she had been expecting for so long was in the vicinity. She called her father and told him that her wishes had been fulfilled. The

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n84/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

King was taken aback and demanded to know if this stranger was of the kshattriya[103] caste. The Princess then told him that he was a mlechcha (foreigner),[104] but eventually the King was persuaded to go to the jungle. When he saw Satgur Nūr with all the animals around him, he began to realize that he was in the presence of an elevated saint. Satgur Nūr then spoke to the King, who soon became converted to the new teaching. They all returned to the city, and elaborate preparations were made for the couple's marriage.

The second major figure of the da'wa around whom an historicizing tradition grew up is Pīr Shams al-Dīn. In the Garbīs, strictly speaking, there is no account as such narrating his activities, but within the compositions mention is made of Pīr Shams' travels in twenty four countries, and reference is made to the time when he came to Ucch and had a confrontation with the famous saint Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. He also performed the miracle of bringing a dead person to life and of bringing the sun down.[105] These details are, however, elaborated in other gināns to provide narratives similar to the ones we have for Satgur Nūr.[106]

The story begins as Shams' travels bring him to the city of Ucch, where most of the people were followers of Bahā' al-Dīn. Shams went to a mosque, and there he met the son of the King of Ucch, and a deep friendship developed between the two.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n85/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

One day Shams happened to be promenading by the shore and suddenly took a fancy to go for a sail. Since there was no boat in sight, he took some paper and shaped it into a boat, and then placing it on the water, he set sail in it. Bahā' al-Dīn happened to be looking out at the sea from his window at the time and was thunderstruck at the sight of the man sailing in a paper-boat. His astonishment caused the boat to sink, and Shams had to make an intense effort at meditation to keep it afloat. When he saw Bahā' al-Dīn at the window he realized who had almost caused his boat to sink. Shams then put a curse on him so that horns grew out of his head and trapped him in the window. Bahā' al-Dīn, in great tribulation, sent for a man to find out about Shams, and after obtaining the information, he called his son Shaykh Ṣadr[107] and asked him to seek out Shams so that he might be freed from his distress. Shaykh Ṣadr found Shams in the mosque and implored him to free his father. Shams agreed to withdraw his curse but said the marks of the horns would, however, never disappear, even from Bahā' al-Dīn's progeny.

After being freed, Bahā' al-Dīn began to be very worried about this new incursion into his territory. He asked his son to go to Shams with a bowl of milk and not to say a word in his presence but await developments. Shaykh Ṣadr came to Shams and presented him with the bowl of milk. Shams then raised his hands to heaven and asked for some flowers. He put them into the bowl and

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n86/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

asked Shaykh Ṣadr to return it to his father. Raising his hands once again, he uttered a prayer, and his hands became filled with ashes. He divided this into three portions. At that time Shaykh Ṣadr left and returned to his father and asked him to explain the significance of Shams' actions. Bahā' al-Dīn explained that by putting the flowers in the bowl, Shams was trying to tell him that his presence in the city would prove unburdensome to him as the flowers were to the milk. When asked to explain the second action, he became angry, because the act symbolized Bahā' al-Dīn's inability to recognize the "three friends" represented by Muḥammad, 'Alī and one of their descendants. As a result he was far away from the true path just like the hypocrites of earlier times who had witnessed the miracles of Panj-tan-i-Pāk[108] but had not believed in them.

(From here, the n rrative proceeds to take up the story of the Prince whom Shams had befriended in the mosque).[109]

He had died and in the face of this clamity, the ruler had summoned all the qāḍīs and muftīs. Under threat of torture should they fail to revive his son, they suggested that he should make a proclamation in the city summoning anyone who was descended from the Prophet to restore his son's life. Since all those who came forward were unable to bring the dead boy to life, the qāḍīs and muftīs in their consternation repaired to the mosque where they chanced upon Pīr Shams resting. After they had implored the Pīr for a long time, he reluctantly decided to come to the palace.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n87/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

There by virtue of his own invocation and without calling upon God's help, he brought the Prince back to life. The Prince at once recognized him.

All this aroused the jealousy of the hypocrites in the city, and they began to talk ill of the Pīr behind his back. They accused him of pretending to the the Creator himself and reproached him for violating the prescriptions of the Sharī'a and demanded that he be punished. Shams and the Prince, dejected by the attitude and public ostracism, left the city forlorn and hungry. Eventually Shams decided that he would try to make amends by returning to the city and removing his skin, as an act of repentance for breaking the Sharī'a. When he did this and presented the skin to the people, they were thrown into confusion and could not perceive the "reality" behind the person of Shams. Still hungry the Pīr then went to the butcher's shop for some meat. The butcher was not prepared to give him any cooked meat, but out of pity for his condition gave him a piece of raw meat. No one, however, offered him a fire to cook the meat, so in sheer desperation, Shams commanded the sun to descend. It obeyed at once; the meat was cooked, and Shams and the Prince satisfied their hunger. Meanwhile the city was nearly ablaze and the people in great turmoil from the intense heat. As soon as the sun had ascended once again, everyone, including the qāḍīs,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n88/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

muftīs, saints and the King himself prostrated themselves before Shams and asked for forgiveness.

The narratives are basically literary vehicles whose prime purpose is to convey a message. In a secondary sense, they do possess an entertainment value as well, but the essential impulse is represented by the da'wa motif. In order to perceive how this dominant motif operates, it is important to underline the fact that the message is projected at several levels and that the narratives perform a number of functions simultaneously. One way of studying this is to analyse the narratives for any common pattern that may be evident in their presentation of events. It is obvious in the case of our narratives that this pattern or thematic development is iterative and deals in stereotype fashion with the activities of the dā'īs. If each sequence in the action of the narratives is treated as an episode, then the plot of the narrative reveals the following iterative features:

(i) Anonymous arrival to a well known centre of religious activity.

(ii) Performance of a miracle to draw tha attention of the ruler of the place, and winning over a disciple.

(iii) Confrontation with a local saint.

(iv) Establishment of the dā'īs supremacy over the saint.

(v) Consequent conversion.

(vi) Departure.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n89/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The literal testimony of the narratives, particularly since we are fortunate in possessing different versions of the events related to some of the dā'īs, is valuable for historical purposes because it enables us to study the various accretions that take place around a tradition. By comparing the internal structure of the different versions, a prototype of the original tradition can be reconstructed. Once the original model is determined, the secondary process of development emerges more clearly, and we can then perceive how possible changes or updating have been made in the course of transmission and before the fixing of the texts. Thus, the place of origin, the setting and even the mention of well-known figures are elements that can be easily subjected to variation, and there will subsequently be distortion in these secondary features.

The literal testimony is, however, but a mirror of the original prototype; and because this continues to be repeated in all the narratives, it is possible to gauge how the central motif develops secondary characteristics to convey its message. The fact that the narratives follow a time sequence reinforces this. By providing a constant reference to the past, through a series of events locked in this past, the narratives are constantly re-creating the identity of the movement. The immediate point of reference in the past is the centre of Nizārī Ismā'īlism in Iran, and the ultimate point links the movement to its Islamic origins

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n90/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and Shī'ite orientation. This is specifically stated at the end of the narratives relating to Shams, and also in the context of the gināns that contain these narratives.[110] In this sense, the narratives, by "anchoring the past in the present", are developing an essentially Ismā'īlī idea of history. In his observations on the Ismā'īlī ideas of history Corbin has remarked that "la représentation que l'Ismaélisme se forme de sa propre histoire n'atteint pas un passé tel que l'entende notre science historique, mais une valorisation et une signification qui remettent sans cesse ce passé 'au présent'".[111] The narratives admirably affirm this central idea by portraying the émergence of the da'wa within this ideological framework.

More specifically within this type of ideologically oriented presentation of history, the narratives also function as instruments of instruction.[112] In this respect, it is noteworthy that the cyclical pattern shows a marked similarity to the stories of the various prophets in the Qur'ān. Further it does not seem to be entirely coincidental that motifs like those of the magic preceptor's staff, the snake and even the whole theme of confrontation occur in both the Qur'ān and the gināns.[113] Like the Qur'ān, the ginān narratives drive towards a moral. In addition to this moralizing and pedagogic function, the narratives also serve to validate the introduction of regulations like the payment of a tithe.[114] They suggest that the pattern of behaviour prior to conversion was false

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n91/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and that one aspect of being converted to the new faith was to change this pattern. For instance, the yogis, instead of conforming to the Hindu pattern of asceticism and living on alms, have to replace this mode of life by involvement in some form of manual activity and labor, and the tithe must be paid from what is earned as a result of this labor.

It is, however, at the abstract and symbolic level that these narratives function as a means of conveying specific concepts that distinguish the new teaching from whatever the converts adhered to previously. It is significant that Satgur Nūr is said to initiate the King into the "mysteries" of the new faith. The study of this level belongs to the next part of the thesis where the themes that are evolved at the abstract level will be discussed.

Besides the narratives and the genealogies, certain additional traditions concerning the role of Satgur Nūr in originating the da'wa came into existence and have been preserved in works written around the turn of the present century. They provide us with two divergent accounts concerning the period of the Ismā'īlī da'wa he represented. One records that he was sent by Imām al-Mustanṣirbillāh to India to preach in favor of the Imām's eldest son Nizār,[115] and the second places his origin much later during the time of Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihi al-Salām, one of the Nizārī Imāms of the Alamūt period who ruled from 1162-66.[116] A shrine alleged to be that of Satgur Nūr exists at present in Navsari in Gujarat.[117]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n92/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

As was indicated earlier the only possible way to gauge if there is a substratum of historical data about the genesis of the da'wa, is to relate the accounts in the narratives to information gleaned from other types of sources. Having determined that the intention and significance of the narratives is not to record history in the sense of providing objective records of the past, but rather to provide an ideologically oriented view of the 'Nizārīs' own history, we can now proceed to analyze the various components to study how the divergent accretions arose within the framework of the Tradition.

The narratives allege that Satgur Nūr came from Daylamān, that he came to Gujarat, and further that he was responsible for converting two Hindu rulers, one of them being the famous Siddharāja Jaysiṁha. All available accounts and inscriptions relating to the rule of Siddharāja show that he died a devoted Hindu, ruling until some time between 1143 and 1145.[118] It is also alleged by Ṭayyibī Bohorā sources that it was actually one of their dā'īs who converted the great ruler, and the startling similarity in the basic motifs of the two accounts throws a revealing light on a possible common origin of the stories. The Bohorā tradition asserts that a dā'ī, 'Abd Allāh, came to the capital Pāṭaṇ; and having gradually mastered the local language and become a disciple of the local saint, he won the admiration of and eventually converted the King's minister. In due course the King was also won over but kept his conversion secret until his death. Of great interest,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n93/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

however, is the fact that the dā'ī performs the same miracles as Satgur Nūr and in particular the one where the idol Gaṇeśa brings some water up to the dā'ī at his bidding and confirms the veracity of the dā'ī's mission.[119] This is an evident case of a diffusion from a common fund of motifs and clearly illustrates the function the accounts serve of validating the authenticity of the origin of their respective da'was. At some point, and one suspects this was done long after the original schism in 1094, the two da'wa traditions came into touch with each other. It is well known that during the Nizārī period in Alamūt the "old" and the "new" da'was were engaged in a war of propaganda,[120] and this must have eventually carried over to India where it is mirrored in these accounts which try to validate the claim of each to represent the authentic Ismā'īlī da'wa. The Fāṭimid da'wa was active in India well up to the time of Mustanṣir's death in 1094 and the ensuing schism. This is attested to in the Sijillāt al-Mustanṣirriyā which contain letters of the Imām to the da'wa in Yemen giving it charge over the da'wa in Hind to make appointments for new dā'īs there; and in the letter dated 1088, al-Mustanṣir sanctions the appointment to Hind of a dā'ī named Aḥmad who figures prominently in the aforementioned Bohorā tradition.[121] It would therefore appear that the accounts associating the coming of Satgur Nūr with the reign of Siddharāja and consequently linking him to the da'wa under al-Mustanṣir are a later accretion and are certainly aimed at balancing the claims of the Nizārī da'wa against

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n94/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

that of the Bohorās. In view of the indication in the Sijillāt that the da'wa was active in Hind (as differentiated from Sind) and thus the west coast of Gujarat, it seems clear, considering that the Nizārī da'wa in India probably emerged in Sind, that the Nizārī Tradition fastened on pre-schism figures and projected its origin back to them to rival the Bohorās in Gujarat. Thus this particular tradition would have come into existence after the Nizārī da'wa had begun to make inroads into Gujarat following its initial work in Sind.

While there is an almost continual record of the Ṭayyibī Bohorā da'wa in India, now under the aegis of Yemen,[122] the meagre source material on the Nizārī da'wa in Alamūt makes no mention of its activities in India. There is no reason to doubt that under Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ later, the Nizārī da'wa continued to have expansionist aims and was extended well beyond the confines of Alamūt. Hodgson has suggested that since the Nizārī da'wa was active in Ghūr, it may well have entered India with the Ghūrid invasion.[123] Around 1175 Shihāb al-Din Ghūrī is said to have wrested Multan from the "Qarmatians" as we have noted earlier. This shows that some form of Ismā'īlism continued to survive in Sind, but we cannot be certain if there was any link with Alamūt. If indeed the Nizārīs had penetrated the area at the time, this would lend some **verisimilitude** to the narratives' claims that Satgur Nūr originated from Daylamān, where he was

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n95/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

associated with Imām Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi al-Salām. In any case, the attempt to link him with Alamūt and yet to fit him anachronistically into the framework of the Fāṭimid daʿwa is a double edged attempt not only to provide a valid ideological background but also to plant and identify the emergence of the Nizārī daʿwa as the mainstream of post-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism.

The existence of a shrine at Navsari is of no particular help in locating Satgur Nūr since that, too, is a later development. Nanjiani, on the basis of oral tradition, tells us that the actual shrine was not constructed until the end of the eighteenth century, that is to say a hundred years before his time of writing.[124] The author of anāzil al-Aqṭāb refers to the shrine as already existing during his time in 1022.[125] Prior to the construction, there was apparently just a grave there. However, the shrine did gain popularity later to the extent that even the local ruler was known to pay an annual contribution.[126]

The earliest genealogy preserved represents, together with the narratives, the earlier tradition concerning Satgur Nūr. The genealogy places him fifth on the list,[127] and this very early position seems to affirm the observation that the Nizārī daʿwa sought to link its emergence in India with Ismāʿīlī predecessors. This is later evidenced in another variant genealogy which equates Satgur Nūr with Imām Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.[128] Here again there is a clear manipulation around the name Nūr al-Dīn which occurs in

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n96/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the earliest extant genealogy preserved in non-Nizārī sources.

With regard to the origins of the da'wa and the figure of Satgur Nūr, even the combination of sources leaves us on very tenuous ground. One must, therefore, speculate on the basis of our analysis of certain tendencies evident in the narrative accounts and the genealogies. The latter tends to telescope the activities of the da'wa and consequently, quite often, re-arranges the sequence of events as is clear from the many versions we have. The narratives, by presenting us with stereotyped connotations of the role played by Satgur Nūr, and the historical sweep of the narrative, which encompasses figures like Siddhrāja, Satgur Nūr and places such as Pātan and Dāylamān all point to a characteristically symbolic usage of epithets and types to mirror a period of the da'wa's acitivity which had universalistic aims and which represented a "golden age" in the achievements of the da'wa. Satgur Nūr is thus an archetypal figure in Nizārī Tradition serving to illustrate its ambitions and also focusing on the constant attempt to orient its followers towards the aims and aspirations represented by the Fāṭimid da'wa in Egypt and the Nizārī da'wa in Alamūt. He bridges the gap between the two, and the existence of such a figure in the da'wa's Tradition in India is a constant reminder of the Ismā'īlī heritage from which it draws its inspiration but more so of its deep and ancient roots on the Sub-continent itself. As a symbol of both past and present

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n97/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

activity, Satgur Nūr serves all these functions, and that is why his personality in the Tradition has taken on such a variety of colors.

If the phase representing the emergence of the da'wa remains an enigma, the subsequent stage is an even more perplexing one, particularly as it concerns the second figure of major importance in the traditional accounts - Pīr Shams al-Dīn.

In all the available geneaologies, the name of Shams occurs consistently, but long after that of Satgur Nūr, affirming the point made about the latter's symbolic role in the history of the da'wa.[130] The name of Shams also appears in the genealogy preserved by the Nizārīs in Iran.[131] The name preceding that of Shams is that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who it is alleged was the father of Shams and who came to India from Alamūt to preach for the da'wa, both having been descended from a line engaged in propagating the da'wa on behalf of the Imāms of Alamūt.[132] Ivanow discounts the validity of the da'wa being continued by an immediate descendant on the grounds that such a link implies an attempt to establish "spiritual" descent.[133] Moreover, as has already been apparent, the genealogies "telescope" the activities of the da'wa, laying down the chronology to fit into a fixed pattern which is then eventually traced back through the Ismā'īlī Imāms to 'Alī (incidentally like most other ṣūfī silsilas). This may well indicate

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n98/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

that the lineage was just a "spiritual" one. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that the da'wa from Alamūt was operating on the basis of a family succession, though the situation after Alamūt may have brought about a change.

In the gināns, certain dates are mentioned in connection with Shams. All of these relate his activities to the first half of the twelfth century. The two gināns that contain the dates are alleged to have been written by him as a tribute to the efforts of his two disciples in helping him to spread the da'wa.[134] These gināns, the Garbīs and the accounts of his miracles in the narratives are not really so important for such anachronistic data, but for the information they give us concerning the use of disciples, and the beginnings of an elementary form of communal organization, none of which has the validating aura about it that might make the information historically suspect. Moreover, the layering apparent in the development of data about the Pīrs has shown that a core of ancient tradition did exist around which an historicizing tradition grew up. The testimony shorn of its secondary characteristics is therefore particularly valuable in determining the sort of organization that came to exist and the type of milieu in which the da'wa found itself. But before delving into these aspects, it is necessary to separate the very heterogenous stratification of material that has given rise to a plethora of identities around the figure of Shams. The traditions surrounding Shams are much more copious

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n99/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

than those about any other figure of the da'wa and consequently most instructive in showing the various characteristics that have forged the Tradition over many years.

One of the many "identities" acquired by Shams is illustrated in the narrative account where he brings the dead Prince back to life and also causes the sun to descend. Ivanow has traced what he calls a "Multan to Qonya" legend in which he identifies the development of mythical motifs around Shams-i-Tabrīzī, the mentor of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.[135] At present the shrine in Multan where Pīr Shams is buried is called the shrine of Shams-i-Tabrīzī, and, in fact, the popular belief up to today has been to identify the name of Pīr Shams with that of Shams-i-Tabrīzī.[136] A motif of great interest common with the one in the narratives, was an apparent reference in Jāmī's Nafaḥāt al-Uns (completed in 1476) where, according to Ivanow, he mentions an alleged contact between Shams-i-Tabrīzī and the saint of Multan, Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā.[137] A much later work written in India, the Majālis al-Mu'minīn of Nūr Allah Shūstarī (executed in 1610/11) traces Shams-i-Tabrīzī's ancestry back to Ismā'īlī roots.[138] It appears that by the sixteenth century the legends around him had definitely become popular in Muslim circles in India and probably entered and were incorporated into the Nizārī Tradition at this time. This amalgamation of personalities was to be given a new twist as we shall see below.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n100/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

In the Garbīs, the narratives and most other gināns attributed to Pīr Shams, reference is made to Qāsim Shāh as the Imām of time.[139] Alamūt, as is well known, was razed by the Mongols in 1256, and after that the history of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs and their Imāms enters a new stage. The child of the last of the Alamūt Imāms, Rukn al-Dīn Khūr Shāh, is said to have been taken to Adharbayjan, and we hear of him later as Imām Shams al-Dīn Nīmrūz 'Alī or Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.[140] Qāsim Shāh, in the earliest Nizārī genealogy extant, is the name of two of the three Imāms that follow immediately after him.[141] Thus if one of the Qāsim Shāhs were to be the Imām on whose behalf Pīr Shams propagated, this would extend the period of his activity into the fourteenth century.

A ginān, Satveṇiji Vel introduces a somewhat startling element into the Tradition by equating Pīr Shams with Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, making him abdicate the Imāma, entrust it to Qāsim Shāh, and then come to India to work for the da'wa.[143] This particular ginān is attributed to Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Imām Shāh, and the figure primarily responsible for shifting the allegiance of a group of Nizārīs towards himself. Since he claimed to be an Imām, it was necessary according to standard Ismā'īlī belief that he should want to establish a direct lineage from the Imāms in order to authenticate his claims. By making Pīr Shams and Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad one and the same person, and by

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n101/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

claiming direct descent from Pīr Shams, he could thus substantiate his own right to the Imāma.[144] In due course a triple amalgamation of identities took place as Pīr Shams, Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and Shams-i-Tabrīzī all came to be regarded as one and the same person. A quite innocuous explanation of the reason for this confusion is given by Pīr Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh (d.1884) and who in the course of his work was trying to clear up the confusion in the genealogies preserved by the community in India. He suggests that Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who lived in Tabrīz, because of his handsome appearance was compared by the local people to the sun and thus came to be called Shams (the Sun) of Tabrīz. This gave rise to the confusion between him and Shams-i-Tabrīzī, but they were in reality two different persons.[145]

Another layer of confusion was added in the modern sources by seeking to relate Pīr Shams to the leaders of the Nūrbakhshīya sect in Kashmīr.[146] The beliefs of the Nūrbakhshīya Order were introduced into Kashmir by one Shams al-Dīn who eventually became the representative there of Shāh Qāsim, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. Shams al-Dīn started his work in Kashmir in 1502.[147] Since Pīr Shams according to the Tradition is said to have travelled through Tibet and Kashmir before coming to India, it appears that an attempt was made to identify the two sets of names, particularly in view of the "Mahdawī" beliefs that the Nūrbakhshīya are alleged to have held

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n102/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

in Kashmir.[148]

Another extremely interesting later claim is to make Pīr Shams a descendant of the Ithnā 'Asharī Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim.[149] As Ithnā 'Asharism began to dominate the religious life of Iran in Ṣafavid and later times, it began also to have increasing influence on Nizārī Ismā'īlī developments there and subsequently in India.[150] Moreover, Ithnā 'Asharism came to be patronized by some of the ruling princes in India, and under the pressure of this increased influence we find the names of the Twelve Ithnā 'Asharī Imāms in the Khōjkī manuscripts.[151] Although both in Iran and in India, these elements were integrated by the community under the guise of taqīya, it is certain that in later generations they became so ingrained as to be considered an integral element, and this is perhaps one reason why the overseers of the shrine of Pīr Shams in present times consider themselves staunch Ithnā 'Asharīs.[152]

In order to sift through this intricate stratification of tradition, one has to resort to the meagre details available about post-Alamūt developments to see if any light can be shed on why there came to be so much confusion around the figure of Shams. A little known schism took place within two generations after the fall of Alamūt. The Imām after the death of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad is given in the oldest genealogies as 'Alā' al-Dīn Mu'min Shāh, a name that disappears from the list later on.[153] The

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n103/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

schism apparently took place after his death, one group giving allegiance to his younger son Qāsim Shāh and the other to Muḥammad Shāh.[154] At least one important factor that generated a split among Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in India, was surely this main schism in Iran. It is clear that a large part of the followers in India threw their lot behind Qāsim Shāh, and this perhaps explains why his name crops up so frequently in association with Pīr Shams. The schism had a definite impact on the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs outside Iran, and this is attested to by the fact that it was felt necessary to send epistles on behalf of the Imāms of the Qāsim Shāhī line to followers as far as Badakhshan and Kabul inviting them to "reconsider the grounds of their allegiance and return to the fold of the right line of Imāms, that is to say, the Qāsim Shāhīs".[155] The Pandiyāt-i-Jawānmardī was most probably dispatched to the scattered communities, including India, to reinforce their allegiance to the Qāsim Shāhī line.[156] I would reiterate then that the attempt to associate Pīr Shams with the name of Qāsim Shāh is one aspect of this attempt of the Tradition in India to align itself behind the Qāsim Shāhī line of Imāms.

The stratification nevertheless leaves us very much in the dark concerning not only the identity and time of Pīr Shams but even his very historicity. As in the case of Satgur Nūr, one might be inclined to suggest that this is another case of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n104/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Tradition building around a symbolic type, but there are certain additional clues which lead one to postulate that we might be dealing here with an historical figure rather than a symbol, around whom Tradition has woven such a colorful tapestry.

By a process of elimination we can conclude that the aspects leading to the merging of his identity with Shams-i-Tabrīzī and Imām Shams al-Dīn Muhammad are apocryphal. The dates in the gināns and his position in the genealogies are later attempts to give some coherence to the growing Tradition. The confrontation with Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā is a commonly diffused motif used in this case to illustrate the contrast between wandering "qalandar" type of ṣūfī and the established type of ṭarīqa ṣūfism of Bahā' al-Dīn. In the Ismā'īlī context the confrontation was also meant to exemplify the superiority of the da'wa and the dā'īs over other similar forces and figures standard in the milieu. Shams' shrine has undergone too many repairs and work to enable us to place it in an specific period, and the shrines of his alleged descendants, like the one in Multan of Sayyid Sultān 'Alī Akbar, do not signify much more than the fact that many sought to establish physical lineage with such famous saints.[157]

It is only when we study the gināns for points of interest concerning the organization of the da'wa that material with no significant validating motive behind it comes to light. One item of interest in the case of Pīr Shams is that he is represented

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n105/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

as working within both Muslim and Hindu groups as contrasted with the accounts of Satgur Nūr whose activities were directed only at Hindus. This is significant because if Satgur Nūr, as suggested earlier, is a prototype of the early Fāṭimid da'wa in Gujarat, his preaching would by virtue of such an early period, be directed towards Hindus, whereas Shams, working in Sind, is within a Hindu-Muslim milieu, a possible indication that he represents a later phase under the Nizārī da'wa.

There are traces in the gināns which show that Pīr Shams attempted to organize the new converts by appointing heads over them and instructing them to pay tithes.[158] It is difficult to dismiss outright such references since they mirror no underlying motive and are probably genuine relics of the earlier phase of the Tradition. In my field work in modern Punjab, I discovered that there exists a Nizārī Ismā'īlī group there with very deep and established roots. They call themselves Shamsīs and are engaged as goldsmiths, a trade they maintain they have carried on since time immemorial.[159] Census reports taken in the Punjab in the last century show remnants of a group called Shamsīs, followers of "Pīr Shams Tabrīzī, the great Saint of Multan". At that time their number was greatest around Sialkot, and the minor ethnographic details available suggested an ingrained practice of taqīya.[160] This is verified by the evidence presented in the Haji Bibi Case of 1905 by Shamsīs who alleged,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n106/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

like their ancestors, to have been converted by Pīr Shams and to have practised Ismā'īlism in secret.[161] The established families who are Punjabi and preserve ginans of Pīr Shams in Punjabi dialects, maintained that their families had always lived in the area.[162] While the possibility of migration owing to various factors, cannot be discounted among the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs of the Sub-continent, the existence of such groups living under taqīya for extended periods suggests that the da'wa was active in this area, and that it may have been carried on by Shams and later by his disciples, thus causing the converts to be called Shamsīs. A significant number of manuscripts have been preserved in the area, and they contain many ginans attributed to Shams.[163] Ivanow has attempted to link the motif of the descent of the sun, attributed to Pīr Shams, to the existence of the well-known solar cult in the area;[164] and the data around Pīr Shams, indicating that he was one of the wandering type of qalandars, may mirror, behind the legendary garb, the first major figure of importance representing the Nizārī da'wa in the area. In addition, the genealogies, though very suspect in their arrangement of dā'īs, are very consistent in making Shams a link in the chain of dā'īs who follow one another in their work in India. This consistency is supported by the preservation of the name of Pīr Shams in the genealogy of the Ismā'īlīs of Iran. On the basis of this evidence, it seems fair to surmise that Pīr Shams was in

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n107/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

reality an historical figure and a dā'ī. Whereas Satgur Nūr, as a symbol, stands for a remote period of the da'wa with which the links were mainly ideological, Pīr Shams emerges as a figure, who, notwithstanding the checkered picture that the Tradition paints of him, was probably among the first to sow the seeds of the Nizārī da'wa in Sind.

Furthermore, the special characteristics in the pattern of propagation related to both Satgur Nūr and Shams, is indicative that the stereotyped accounts allude to the early period of Nizārī Ismā'īlī activity which is concerned with the interaction resulting from the initial spread of the da'wa. The Pīr emerges as a Hindu yogi or a wandering dervish, working totally within the forces current at the time. This is a point which would help in understanding the development of religious thinking as we find it reflected in the gināns as well. I would argue then for the purposes of tracing the historical development of the da'wa that the pattern reflected in tne narratives stands for what may be termed the period of entrenchment, when the da'wa established its first foot-holds. The most striking aspects of this first period are the organization of disciples to spread the da'wa and the establishment of little "pockets" of followers. In the absence of any centralized authority, these pockets presumably carried on as independent units. It must also be remembered that the identity of such groups would be extremely difficult to discover

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n108/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

within the complex of religious trends emerging after Muslim settlement. Moreover, the groups could continue to function as a "jamā'a" related to a specific profession. This is presumably what the ancestors of the present day goldsmiths did. Further, the continuation of Hindu cultural traits, as well as association with a professional caste, acted as a cover for Ismā'īlī tendencies; and in view of the policy of persecution against the malāḥida, adopted by most of the Sunni rulers, there seems every reason to suppose that, as intimated by the gināns, taqīya was being practised.[165]

As compared with the Fāṭimid da'wa in Sind, the most singular contrast is the development of a non-political orientation around the da'wa. This again ties up with the collapse of expansionist aims on the fall of Alamūt and indicates that the da'wa had entered a new quietist stage. The references to the conversion of rulers probably reflect the urge to revive the ambition in symbolic terms as exemplified by the myths in the narratives. Most of the conversions must have been at the popular level. There were also remnants of earlier forms of Ismā'īlism, like the Sūmrās, and other "heretical" groups as shown by the Delhi revolt of 1236. Some of these may have been attracted to the da'wa, but the agricultural and trading similes that abound in the ginān show that the message was directed more towards Hindu groups in the intermediate castes and that the bulk of the early

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n109/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

work was done in Sind,[166] rather than Gujarat, where the Tayyibī da'wa was already well established.

In all this, the historical personalities of the early pīrs remain dim and obscure. The mythical character of the core of the Tradition they gave birth to, and the subsequent layering of variants that grew around their exploits, all leave the historian grasping a number of strands, none of which permits a substantially coherent picture of the men who set the Tradition into motion.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n110/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

CHAPTER IV

SECOND PHASE: CONSOLIDATION

Having analyzed what can be termed the initial phase of the da'wa's activity, we approach in the Tradition, a second phase, which is both a period of consolidation as well as something of a watershed in the institutions's development. This phase is easier to delineate because our data is slightly more specific. Also the relationship between the da'wa in India and the main centre in Iran, is much more clearly evident, particularly until such time as the so-called Anjudān revival of the fifteenth century.[167]

The work of Pīr Shams, according to the testimony of the gināns, is said to have been continued by a descendant called Naṣīr al-Dīn. His successor is called Shihāb al-Dīn or Ṣāḥib al-Dīn.[168] There are no further biographical details except for a remark that they conducted the da'wa in secret.[169] Their names appear consistently, one after another, in all preserved genealogies.[170] Although earlier the possibility of the da'wa's being continued by immediate descendants was discounted, it seems conceivable that this may have changed once the da'wa had become entrenched. In view of the fact that after the collapse of the Ismā'īlī state in Alamūt there was no centralized Ismā'īlī head-

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n111/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

quarters, a certain amount of autonomy entered into the organization of remoter centres. Also it seems quite reasonable to assume, that once the da'wa had become firmly entrenched and indigenized, the dā'īs chose as their successors those who could be relied upon to command the allegiance of the believers both by virtue of their family connections with the old dā'īs and also because they were thoroughly cognizant of local conditions. If we consider this in relation to hints given in later Persian Ismā'īlī sources about the appointment of the Imām's relatives to the da'wa and the role played by the "sayyids" in the organization of the Indian da'wa (and its offshoots),[171] we can adduce that the practice might have begun at this stage.

There are two entirely unrelated events that may help to throw some light on the background against which this second phase was developing. The first is connected with the campaigns of Tīmūr in Persia, where towards the end of the fourteenth century, "he had the merit of extirpating a band of assassins with which the northwestern provinces of Persia were infested",[172] a reference to pockets of Ismā'īlī groups still surviving in the area. The second took place in India during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq who came to the throne of the Delhi Sultanate in 1351. According to his own account, he carried out a policy of suppressing extremist sectarian manifestations, among whom was a group of Rawāfid.[173] He paints, as is to be expected, a highly exaggerated picture of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n112/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

their practices to justify his action. There is no way of ascertaining whether the group attacked by Fīrūz Shāh may have included any followers of the da'wa; nevertheless, it serves to indicate the tension under which the da'wa would be forced to work in view of such harsh policies and also ties in with the assertion that the da'wa was functioning in secret. The persecution in Iran illustrates a similar dimension concerning the Ismā'īlīs there and, what is more important, indicates a period of great instability for the movement in Iran. The immediate disruptive effects on life in Iran, following upon the Mongol invasion and continual periods of uncertainty prior to and during Timūr's reign, must have meant that the Imāms and their adherents had to keep on the move all the time, until the period of their subsequent stay in Anjudān, where a certain degree of tranquility was achieved and permitted the commencement of a revival.[174]

The figure in the da'wa's development to whom a key role is attributed in the consolidation is Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn.[175] It is once again futile to look for a record of direct biographical details in the ginānas, and the task of reconstructing his period of activity, therefore, needs to be followed along the lines adopted for the earlier period. The import of having two predecessors before Ṣadr al-Dīn and after Shams, is that a genealogical continuation is being effected by the Traditional sources. We have already noticed the tendency to abridge historical sequence which

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n113/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

is built into the Tradition. There is thus reason to suppose that the names of some minor figures, operating under the tense conditions, may have been dropped out of the genealogy entirely. One cannot also discount the factor that there was fairly continuous da'wa activity, the more so after the period of entrenchment and particularly after sizable groups had been won over and organized to a certain extent. Consequently the two figures that bring us up to Ṣadr al-Dīn, are likely to indicate a dividing point between the "blank" period and the resurgence under a new wave.

The shajras preserved among the overseers of the shrines, offer some biographical details as well as dates. Ṣadr al-Dīn is said to have been born, according to one genealogy in 1290 and to have died in 1380. In another, a life of two hundred twenty five years is attributed to him. Other dates in later preserved traditions vary, one set being closer to the above, while another puts his death as late as 1416.[176] Basing our conclusions about these dates on the structural telescoping evident in the genealogical details, one can conclude that they are much later attempts to bring some time-perspective to the activities of the da'wa as a whole.

The one point on which the gināns are agreed is the name of the Imām associated with Ṣadr al-Dīn. He is called Islām Shāh (or Salām Shāh).[177] Some concrete evidence as to the existence and period of such an Imām is afforded by the existence of archaeological remains in Anjudān in Iran. The inscriptions enable us

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n114/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

at least to date the period of Islām Shāh at around 1480.[178] The surname, Islām Shāh, however, is one connected with a number of Imāms, all apparently representing the period of settlement before and around Anjudān.[179] Furthermore, according to Abū Isḥāq, who is our earliest Nizārī source besides the inscriptions, who lists the Imāms of the period, there are six Imāms between Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who, as we have noted, lived around 1310, and the Imām Islām Shāh around 1480.[180] Thus, assuming that each represented a generation, we would have a total of eight generations within a period of 170 years or so, a distinct feasibility. The use of names and titles and the practice of taqīya to hide their identities, meant that in most cases, much confusion arose as to the exact name of a particular Imām and his place of residence. Even at the time Khayr Khwāh was writing in the middle of the sixteenth century, he made no reference to the name of the Imām or the exact name of his residence.[181] It is clear that in the gināns and the various genealogies of Imāms preserved in India, considerable confusion reigns with respect to these names and places. Hence, though the name Islām Shāh is associated with Ṣadr al-Dīn, one would be hesitant to suggest to which specific Imām it may refer. The place referred to in the gināns as the residence of the Imām is Kahak.[182] We know for certain of an Imām buried in Kahak during the early part of the eighteenth century,[183] but considering that Kahak and Anjudān were so near to each other, it

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n115/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

is probable that such references merely indicate the area rather than a specific place.[184] What, in fact, such references tell us about the community in India as a whole, is the growth of a closer awareness of its roots, particularly in view of the growing links with the Imāms in Persia, in this later period. This awareness is ultimately reflected in the gināns and the genealogies, in as much as we find a constant "updating" both of names and places. The clues that all this provides us about Ṣadr al-Dīn's period of activities and the link with Iran are, however, not too specific. The somewhat precise dates we have in the gināns and the genealogies, try to bridge the "blank" period by making Ṣadr al-Dīn a direct descendant from the line of Shams and appear consequently to be forced. I would, for the time being, agree with Ivanow's generalized placement of Ṣadr al-Dīn between the second half of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century,[185] but would add a qualification, that the emphasis should be around the turn of the fifteenth century, possibly coinciding with the period in Ismā'īlī activity in Anjudān, when the Imāms were just beginning to find breathing space after Tīmūr's ravages.

The most significant aspect of Ṣadr al-Dīn's work that we can glean from the gināns and thetraditional material, is the establishment of jamā'at-khānas.[186] The gīhān Jannatpurı attributed to Imām Shāh names the place in Sind where the first jamā'at-khana was established by Ṣadr al-Dīn as Kotrā.[187] From my research

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n116/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

on the community in modern day Sind I was able to determine that oral tradition preserves the memory of this first jamā'at-khāna at a place called Allāhrakhia Koṭṛi.[188] When Alexander Burnes visited Sind in 1828, he came to a place he calls "Kotree", then a landing place on the river, with no inhabitants living there at the time.[189] The Jannatpurī also states that Ṣadr al-Dīn converted members of the Lohaṇa caste to Ismā'īlism and gave them the title of Khwāja.[190] If we accept the testimony that the converts were from among trading castes like the Lohana, remembering that the Khōjās have since always remained traders wherever they went, we can tie this up with places like Koṭṛi which were certainly in earlier times important river ports. This is one aspect which throws considerable light on the geography of the Tradition because whenever the Ismā'īlīs migrated within India in later times, their moves were partly due to persecution, but in most cases the reasons were economic. The changing course of the Indus made certain ports unusable, and the traders had to move on.[191] Thus the evidence in the gināns receives much support from such ethnographic and geographical facts, and in Koṭṛi, we might very well have one of the first important Nizārī Ismā'īlī centres in Sind during this phase of the da'wa. Besides Koṭṛi, two other centres were established, one in Punjab and the other in Kashmir, and the names of all three Mukhis of these communities have been preserved.[192] The centre of the da'wa's activities is said to have been Ucch.[193] The extent of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n117/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the organization indicates a considerable growth in the size of the community and also hints at a less covert approach in the da'wa's activities. One possible explanation of the latter phenomenon is that after the increase in the activities of the ṭarīqas, and the emergence of indigenous movements like the Bhakti movement in Northern India, the need for secrecy was felt to be less imperative In the context of the development of organized ṣufism, someone like Ṣadr al-Dīn, coming from Iran, could easily merge into the milieu and either shape a movement or begin by associating with an existing group, establishing himself and then setting up an organization of his own. A group like the Nizārīs could well merge into the religious milieu under the guise of a ṭarīqa linked moreover by professional affiliations. The state of the Delhi Sultanate also underwent considerable change, following upon the invasion of Tīmūr's armies in 1398. Disintegration set in, and this may, to a certain extent, have lessened the policies of persecution undertaken by the likes of Fīrūz Shāh.[194]

Another pointer to a restructuring of Ismā'īlī adherents under Ṣadr al-Dīn is an alleged visit to the Imām to submit the tithes collected from India.[195] We have evidence in the work of Khayr Khwāh that the practice of collecting dues and dispatching them to the headquarters of the Imām existed. Khayr Khwāh refers to the dues collectively as māl.[196] The importance of this principle of payment of dues has a long history both in Islam and

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n118/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Ismā'īlism, and its importance for spiritual and moral purposes is repeatedly emphasized in the gināns. One of the functions of a pīr, if we may judge on the basis of later practice as well as this hint in the gināns about Ṣadr al-Dīn, was to make sure that all the dues eventually reached the Imām. Though most such accounts of visits by dā'īs to the Imām are couched in symbolic terms, it is probable that Ṣadr al-Dīn, like later dā'īs from India, did undertake such a visit. Later Tradition as in Satvaṇi Vadi built more decorative accounts around such visits.[197]

The issue of dues raises an interesting question with regard to the economic organization of the adherents of the da'wa. The gināns contain guidance concerning trading matters, and on the whole, similes of a commercial nature abound in the gināns.[198] Ivanow has certain reservations about the validity of all these,[199] but it appears likely that in urban areas and around coastal ports where most were engaged in trade, these references provide clues to the establishment of not only religious units, but also to the strong economic bases of such units. It was also perhaps in the economic strength of the units that the attraction for some converts may have lain. Moreover, with the period of revival in Anjudān, the need must also have been felt of husbanding increased resources to establish a proper centre in Iran from whence to conduct the activities of the da'wa, and it was necessary that the funds from other centres reach the headquarters in trusted hands. It is also

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n119/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

for this reason, one is led to believe, that the pīrs in India during this phase were, as Tradition asserts, related to the Imām. In one of his works Khayr Khwāh makes explicit reference to the fact that the more important appointments to the da'wa were being made from among the Imām's family.[200] Such a practice was in evidence right down to the time when the Imāms moved their headquarters from Iran to India, and it is likely that in the appointment of dā'īs such as Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, we may have the beginnings of this practice.[201] Pīr Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, writing late in the nineteenth century, suggests that Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn lived in Sabzavar in Iran, from whence he was sent to India at an advanced age to propagate on behalf of Imām Islām Shāh, but he offers no further details.[202] This information, coming as it does from a leading and knowledgeable member of the da'wa, who by virtue of his position represented the link between the Iranian and the Indian traditions, may indicate elements in the Tradition, preserved from the Iranian point of view, and thus approximating closer to the realities of the situation, than the build-up of data around the pīrs among the local converts. Unfortunately such references are few and far between and give no details.

Beyond this and on somewhat firmer grounds, we have some evidence of the methodology of Ṣadr al-Dīn's preaching in the cognomens by which he is designated in the gināns. Three appelations,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n120/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the first two drawn from figures in Hindu mythology, are used for the most part, Haríschandra, Sahadeva and Bārgur.[203] Each symbol may tell us something about his activity, particularly as later Tradition saw it, and also simultaneously illustrate the setting of the da'wa. The first two definitley establishing him as working within a Hindu framework. If we also consider the Tradition which makes Ṣadr al-Dīn the founder of the Khōjās from the Lohaṇa caste, then we can probably conclude that the main object of his preaching was the conversion of Hindus rather than the attraction of Muslims to the Ismā'īlī fold. The concept implied in Bārgur and developed in a ginān called Chatrisa Krōṛ[204] is that of portraying his immense success in converting a large number to the "right path".

The composition of the two ritual prayers is attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn,[205] and all in all it appears very likely that in Ṣadr al-Dīn we have a figure who played a key role in organizing and consolidating the gains made by the da'wa of the earlier period. His shrine exists at Jetpur near Ucch and, like most other Ismā'īlī shrines, has passed into non-Ismā'īlī hands. The overseers consider themselves Twelvers and call the Pīr, Hājī Ṣadar Shāh.[206]

The history of the next figure, Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, the son of Ṣadr al-Dīn, brings us to comparatively solid ground with regard to the period of his activity, since he is the only early dā'ī to have been mentioned in any detail in Muslim hagiographical

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n121/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

works. To begin with the gināns first, he is pictured as taking over his father's work, again propagating openly. He is said to have been born in Ucch, and a date S.1386 (1329) occurs in a ginān.[207] There is a variety of other dates with regard to the year of his death, and Ivanow feels that the ones around 1470-71 are probably accurate.[208] In the well known biographical work, Akhbār al-Akhyār, it is stated that he travelled a lot and eventually settle down in Ucch, and that he was very well known for performing miracles and converting a large number of Hindus to Islam. He died, according to the Akhbār, in 896 A.H. (1490). The Akhbār also cites the tradition according to which Kabīr al-Dīn is said to have lived for 180 years.[209] The author of this work, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlavī, died in 1642,[210] and what is significant from our point of view is that by this time the general Tradition around the activities of Kabīr al-Dīn had apparently become fixed to the extent of being available to a hagiographer like 'Abd al-Ḥaqq. In all respects, the details about the Pīr's activities are corroborated and enlarged upon by the accounts in the gināns. On the one hand, the longevity attributed to the Pīr can be explained away as a possible reflection of attempts to establish descent from Pīr Shams; yet on the other hand, even if we discount the exaggeration in all the testimonies that point to an unusually long life, it is difficult to dismiss entirely the common purport

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n122/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of these basically similar suggestions, that he may quite possibly have lived longer than was normal. In any case, on the basis of all the above dates we can at least determine that he died sometime towards the end of the fifteenth century. Incidentally Islām Shāh is also associated as Imām with Kabīr al-Dīn, once again the confusion probably arising as a result of the title "Islām Shāh" being used by the three Imāms referred to earlier, the last of whom died around 1490.[211] The shrine of Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn lies just outside Ucch and is known locally as the shrine of Ḥasan Daryā.[212]

Having one additional non-Isma'īlī source to substantiate the materials we already possess in the Tradition facilitates considerably our attempts to determine the attitude of some of the Muslim mystics in the area to the activities of the Ismā'īlī dā'īs. If we are to judge by the account in Akhbār al-Akhyār, there seems to be no trace of bigotry among mystics generally and may also reflect a genuine sentiment for possibly remarkable achievements in the field of conversion. Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, interestingly enough, is also said to have belonged to the Suhrawardī Order which predominated in Ucch at the time.[213] All of this serves to emphasize that the da'wa during this phase was working under relatively favorable circumstances and aimed at conversion with no manifest subversive political overtones. Mobility is also a

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n123/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

factor associated with Kabīr al-Dīn in the gināns. Although there are no specific details besides the reference that he, too, had his centre at Ucch, there is mention of a visit to the Imām. An instructive myth is preserved regarding this visit, which is more a personal, emotive account reflecting a sort of "Pilgrim's Progress" in a ṣūfī vein,[214] and hence provides no indication of the route taken or places visited. It is possible that the pīrs were undertaking extensive travels to co-ordinate the various centres and keep them in touch with the headquarters in Iran.

In order to round off the second phase of the da'wa, two further episodes need to be considered, which may help to delineate the period under review more clearly. Both the accounts in the Tradition and the testimony in Akhbār al-Akhyār, point to some form of dissension among the descendants of Kabīr al-Dīn.[215] The accounts in the gināns speak of his eighteen children who disagreed amongst themselves at the time of his death.[216] It is not clear if this disagreement was over the succession to the position of Pīr. In any case all the ginān accounts are agreed that Kabīr al-Dīn's brother Tāj al-Dīn, was invested as Pīr by the Imām of the time.[217] The genealogies also indicate that he succeeded Kabīr al-Dīn.[218] This step appears to have created a considerable amount of discontent among the various descendants

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n124/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of Kabīr al-Dīn. At this point the story takes an unexpected turn. Pīr Tāj al-Dīn is said to have visited the Imām to deliver the collection of tithes, and upon his return his nephews noticed that he wore a robe of gold which was given him as a present by the Imām. They accused him of absconding with the dues, and this hurt him so much that he either committed suicide or died from the shock.[219] The Satvarṇi Vadi states that he died in S.1520 (1463), a bachelor, at the young age of twenty.[220] He was eventually buried in Jhum in Sind where his shrine exists at the present time.[221] If we considered that Kabīr al-Dīn died towards the end of the fifteenth century, the date of Tāj al-Dīn's death seems early and to have been made to fit in with earlier dates given for Kabīr al-Dīn's activities in the same ginān. All that we can be certain of is that there was dissension after the death of Kabīr al-Dīn among his sons, that some of them refused to accept Tāj al-Dīn who not very long after he assumed his role as Pīr, died in mysterious circumstances.

At this point the figure of Imām Shāh enters into the story and the Jannatpurī dwells on the differences and dissensions that were taking place.[222] Since a detailed study of Imām Shāh has already been done by Ivanow in connection with the movement which goes by his name,[223] we will limit ourselves to those features which help us locate his role in the development of the da'wa. In

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n125/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the Jannatpurı a pathetic picture is painted of Imām Shāh's rejection by some of the jamā'ats in Sind. Eventually Imām Shāh decides to undertake a visit to the Imām to seek redress for his grievances. The account of his visit is mythical in nature and like other such examples in the gināns does not concern itself with precise geographical or historical data.[224] But this ginān among others preserved in the Imām-Shāhī vein is very liable to interpolations and distortions of detail.[225] Hence the dates and names of places and figures cannot be relied upon fully. All the same, what emerges in this ginān, as well as in certain others attributed to Imām Shāh, is that he was not making any claims to headship of the da'wa and his visit to the Imām was made more for reasons of spiritual need than anything else. One suspects that following the death of Tāj al-Dīn, the community was plunged into a crisis. By this time the community must have been fairly scattered with various centres all over, but as also indicated in Jannatpurı, the main centre was at Ucch. On his return from visiting the Imām, Imām Shāh settled in Gujarat, and both the Traditional and other sources we have speak of the tremendous success he had in converting Hindus to Islam.[226] This information indicates that he continued to propagate on behalf of the da'wa, carrying on the work of the previous pīrs and drawing adherents to Nizārī Ismā'īlism. The name of Imām Shāh is not preserved in the genealogies, and this is

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n126/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

probably due to a startling novelty that was introduced into the structure of the da'wa and, which indicates the reaction of the centre in Iran to the troubled situation in India. In all the genealogies preserved in the manuscripts and in Iran, the name of Pandiyāt-i-Jawānmardī appears after that of Tāj al-Dīn.[227] Tradition asserts that in view of the dissension, the Imām decided to suspend the appointment of pīrs to India after the death of Tāj al-Dīn and sent a book of guidance instead.[228] It may be possible to date this new turn, by comparing the above Tradition, associated with the book, with some concrete evidence about the Imāms in Iran who are said to have sent the book. The "author" of the Pandiyāt, Imām Mustanṣir bi-Allāh died in 1480.[229] The Tradition in India states that an Imām called Mustanṣir bi-Allāh sent a book in Persian (Ajamī-zabān) to the jamā'at there.[230] However, there is another Imām with the surname Gharīb Mirzā who was also called Mustanṣir bi-Allāh and who died not long after, in 1498 and was buried in Anjudān.[231] In a ginān of Imām Shāh, Momān Chetāmaṇi, reference is made to Islām Shāh as the Imām of the time but he is also called the avatāra of Gharīb Mirzā, as well as Mustanṣir.[232] From 1498 onwards no graves of subsequent Imāms are found in Anjudān until the beginning of the seventeenth century when the graves reappear in the same area.[233] Such a strange turn of events may indicate that the Imāms were beginning to be hampered by persecution

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n127/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

again and felt it necessary to move about. It is for this reason perhaps that Khayr-Khwāh does not give any name for the residence of the Imām and also speaks of him as going into satr.[234] The Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyyā also refers to the effect of the persecution suffered by Imām Gharīb Mirzā and his descendants which forced them to stay away from the area.[235] All of this evidence indicates how the confusion of names was still being perpetuated in the gināns, and the references to the Imām at the time of Imām Shāh probably refers to one of the early Imāms during this period of persecution after 1500. Imām Shāh died in 1513 in Pirana, the city he founded, and which became the necropolis of the Imām-Shāhī sect later on,[236] and we can thus tie up coherently all the events like Tāj al-Dīn's death, the role of the Pandiyāt, and the death of Imām Shāh within a period ending in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The Pandiyāt represents the first concrete literary evidence we have of the contacts between the community in India and the centre in Iran, besides the hints we have of the pīrs' visits to Iran earlier on. We are extremely fortunate in that a Khōjkī transliteration of the Persian text of the Pandiyāt exists in the oldest manuscript we have among the Khōjkī manuscripts.[237] The Pandiyāt incidentally also found its way to other remote centres where Ismā'īlīs are still to be found, Hunza, Chitral

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n128/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and Badakhshan, not to mention areas in Northwest Iran like Khurasan.[238] This fact may intimate that the co-ordination between the various centres, only hinted at in the travels of Ṣadr al-Dīn and Kabīr al-Dīn, was at a much more organized level than it would appear. Furthermore, a letter sent by Imām ʿAbd al-Salām, the son of the "author" of the Pandiyāt, Imām Mustanṣir bi-Allāh II, has also been preserved, dated 1490. It addresses the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshan and Kabul who followed the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, inviting them to return to the fold of the right line of Imāms, namely the Qāsim-Shāhī,[239] and once again indicates the attempts of the Imāms in Anjudān to bring about a more centralized control over the scattered communities. The Pandiyāt may also have been dispatched to these centres not long after this time. The Khōjkī version of the Pandiyāt thus existed in at least a transcribed form in India by 1736.[240] Ivanow, writing much later, after he had edited the text of the Pandiyāt, suggested that some of the ideas in it were sponsored by Khayr Khwāh and that it was in this amended version that the text reached India.[241] Since Khayr Khwāh is our only Iranian source who mentions the visits paid by the dāʿīs in India to Iran to seek guidance and who also tells us that he provided these dāʿīs with material to take back with them,[242] the supposition may have some basis to it. In this case such an amended

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n129/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

version of the Pandiyāt would not have reached India until some time in the first half of the sixteenth century when Khayr Khwāh was in charge of the da'wa in Iran.[243] It probably took time to popularize the Pandiyāt and eventually have a written version in Khōjkī for circulation, and our manuscript is probably one in which such a version has survived.

The death of Imām Shāh brings this second phase of the da'wa in India to a termination and acts as a dividing line from which to review the general features of the development of the movement. The most significant aspect is the establishment of a more corporate organization of the scattered communities in the form of jamā'at-khānas, aided by the increasing indigenization involving the use of local converts to look after the jamā'at-khānas. This development is also underlined by the rise of pīrs such as Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, who were born and brought up entirely within the Indian milieu. The added use of the pīrs' family members, as in the case of Tāj al-Dīn and Imām Shāh to carry out the work of the da'wa is also another dimension of this process of indigenization. Nevertheless the visits to the Imām and the dispatching of religious dues to Iran indicate that there was a degree of control exercised from the centre. Such contacts with the centre were aimed at preventing total indigenization in the sense of according complete autonomy to the followers in India,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n130/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and were aimed also at fostering a consciousness that gave these dispersed groups a sense of solidarity by uniting their allegiance to a common vision and ideology. Influence of the Anjudān "revival" was reflected in the use of titles such as Mustanṣir bi-Allāh by the Imāms in India; and as Ivanow has suggested, this is an indication of the ambitions of the Imāms to revive memories of ancient glory.[244] But the events surrounding the death of Tāj al-Dīn serve to illustrate the pitfalls arising from increased indigenization as well as the problems of keeping the growing and widely scattered communities united, so that with the passing away of Imām Shāh we approach in the history of the da'wa a crisis of no uncertain proportions, bringing to a climax the phase under review and ending in a schism that was to split the da'wa apart.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n131/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

CHAPTER V

THIRD PHASE: SCHISM AND SEQUEL

Properly speaking, the full story of the schism and the rise of the Imām Shāhī (or Satpanthī) branch from the mainstream of the da'wa, forms the subject of a separate study, and only those details concern us here which permit the event to be placed in proper perspective within the context of the Nizārī da'wa as a whole. Eventually, the adherents of the new sect, having set for themselves a new direction, denied having had any connections with the parent branch at all.[245] What is important for our study is to treat the branch as an offshoot of the main da'wa and to look at its traditions and organization for any clues it can give us about its ancient links with Nizārī Ismā'īlism.

The figure to whom all the evidence points as being the key person responsible for the schism is the son of Imām Shāh, Nar Muḥammad Shāh.[246] Unfortunately none of the gināns attributed to him have been preserved in any of the old manuscripts, and one has to rely on fairly late manuscripts and the printed versions.[247] Ivanow was fortunate enough to consult earlier Imām-Shāhī works 'n Persian which treat of the schism;[248] and when all the sources are put together and analyzed, a consistent outline emerges.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n132/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

In his gināns, Nar Muḥammad Shāh makes the claims that Imām Shāh was an Imām and as Imām Shāh's successor, he inherited this role.[249] Manāzil al-Aqṭāb makes reference to the demand of Nar Muḥammad Shāh to one of the Mukhīs, who was in charge of collecting tithes, that all such tithes should henceforth be delivered to him. The Mukhī refused, and in the ensuing quarrels the split became final. Nar Muḥammad Shāh declared himself independent of the main da'wa.[250] Exactly when these events took place we cannot be sure, but if we turn once more to Khayr Khwāh, he makes mention of the fact that during the time when he first visited the Imām at the age of nineteen, the māl was not reaching the centre properly.[251] It appears,therefore, that the problem had become acute around this time, not only in India but elsewhere, and that some of the da'wa organizations were undergoing malfunction. Furthermore, if we look at the Pandiyāt it makes specific reference to a schism over the question of who exactly was the Imām of the time and exhorts the followers to accept the Imām's representative (wāṣī) and not to follow the ways of those before and give up the real Imām.[252] The message of the Pandiyāt, if indeed it was sent to the various communities at this time, would then reflect the existence of a schism. On relating all this internal evidence in the various texts together, one realises that the declaration of autonomy by Nar Muḥammad Shāh was part of a larger crisis

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n133/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

affecting the centre and having its repercussions among remoter branches. It would be a misrepresentation to consider the split as a sudden and entirely local event. We have noted how the Tradition makes reference to the tension arising after the death of Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn among his various descendants. This tension was perhaps never fully resolved and was climaxed after the death of Imām Shāh by the secession of Nar Muḥammad Shāh.

The immediate effects of the schism in India and the reaction to it from Iran are not clear. New figures emerge in the Tradition who are said to represent the Imāms in Iran, and these intimate that work under the control of the main da'wa continued in Iran. The introduction of the Pandiyāt into India perhaps represents the immediate reaction from Iran and probably indicates a change in the structure of the da'wa whereby appointments of pīrs were suspended and a book was dispatched to take their place. It is for this reason that the Pandiyāt eventually found itself in the list of pīrs.

With the post-schism period, a new dimension also enters into the source materials concerning the reorganization of the da'wa. The Pandiyāt and other sources indicate substantial evidence of a continuing link between Iran and India; and in the Khōjkī manuscripts, we have some indication of changes in the organization of the da'wa. The manuscripts also provide testimony about emerging

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n134/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

figures and thus act as a yardstick for checking the oral tradition about this post-schism phase.

Nanjiani connects the attempts at reorganization with the activities of PIr DādU, and he gives much data on PIr DādU's work and period of activity. Most of Nanjiani's details are culled from oral tradition as he lived in the same area of Bhuj where DādU's shrine is to be found at present.[253] DādU is said to have been appointed by the ImĀm and to have come from Iran and worked in Sind and Cutch and died there in S.1650 (1593).[254] It is possible to verify some of these details by studying certain references in the manuscripts. In the oldest genealogy he is listed after the Pandiyāt.[255] A second mention of him turns up in quite unexpected fashion in another manuscript copied in 1829.[256] It seems that the copyist, while writing down the ginĀns, came across a specific reference in his source which stated that "PIr dādU, with all well-being, left Nagar for Bhuj in S.1641 (1584)".[257] It is quite clear that such an insertion, which is entirely unrelated to the copyist's task of writing down the ginĀns, shows that his source must either have been a much older manuscript incorporating a contemporary event or one that contained such early information. This practice is not entirely uncommon in the manuscripts, and references to contemporary historical events occur from time to time,[258] re-emphasising the fact that older

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n135/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

manuscripts were in existence from which copies came to be made, and that if more such were to be found, references could be multiplied, giving us added material to go on.

The name that occurs in the list of pīrs together with Dādū or sometimes instead of him, as in later genealogies when the name of Dādū dropped out, is that of Hāshim Shāh.[259] This name also occurs in the list preserved in Iran and much more significantly in the work of Khayr Khwāh. The latter states that Hāshim Shāh was the ḥujja whom he replaced on the order of the Imām. Khayr Khwāh goes on to say that he took over the role of both ḥujja and dā'ī which had hitherto belonged to two separate individuals.[260] The intimation here is that while there was always one ḥujja, there were a number of dā'īs attached to various communities, but in Khayr Khwāh's case not only was he appointed the ḥujja but also made dā'ī of his territory which comprised Kabul and Badakhshan. It might very well be that Dādū was only appointed as a dā'ī but his name was in any case incorporated into the list of pīrs by the jamā'at in India and subsequently dropped when it was realized that he had only been a dā'ī. Such a change may indicate that no more ḥujjas were being appointed to India and that all the territories were being put under the central jurisdiction of a ḥujja as Khayr Khwāh goes on to elaborate. He refers to the visit of two Hindī Ismā'īlīs, the followers (Rāhiyān)

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n136/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of Pīr Raḥmat Allāh, who had come to Khurasan on their way to search for the Imām to present religious dues.[261] In the shajra of Pīr Shams, one of the sons of Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn is called Raḥmat Allāh who worked on behalf of the da'wa and was buried in Gujarat.[262] Imām-Shāhī sources state that when Imām Shāh died in 1513, his wife asked the head of the local jamā'at to summon the son of Raḥmat Allāh from Ucch.[263] The son is called Mashā'ikh, and this name also occurs in the later part of Khayr Khwāh's account where he speaks of the visit of Pīr Mashā'ikh, from Hindustan, who was known to have a large number of followers, and who had been specifically sent by the Imām to Khayr Khwāh for guidance concerning the explanation of the position of the pīr and to obtain books clarifying the issue.[264]

If we relate all these names and details scattered in the various sources, they give us, however vaguely, an inkling of the work of re-organization going on in the whole da'wa. The visits to Iran by members of the Indian community reflect the continuing practice of delivering religious dues to the Imām. The visit of Pīr Mashā'ikh to seek guidance on important matters underlines the problems created by the schism and the need for re-organization and re-assertion of centralized control. All this was taking place, if we judge by Khayr Khwāh's account, from the time he was a young man of nineteen, to the period when he was doing most of his writing

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n137/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

around 1550, all of which coincides with the period of crisis in India following the death of Imām Shāh.

Pīr Dādū to whom we now return, according to the chance reference in the manuscript, was in Gujarat around 1585. Nanjiani's account corroborates more or less exactly the period of Dādū's work. Citing oral tradition, he writes that Dādū was sent by Imām Abū Dharr 'Alī to Sind to try to stop the secession of Ismā'īlīs there to Sunnism. He was driven out and came to Navanagar (now Jamnagar) in Gujarat where he obtained land and settled some of the faithful Sindhi Ismā'īlīs who had fled with him. He then proceeded to Bhuj where he died in 1594.[265] Imām Abū Dharr 'Alī in all available genealogies succeeded Imām Gharīb Mīrzā (Mustanṣir bi-Allāh III) who died in 1498.[266] From Khayr Khwāh's account it is not clear what the name of the Imām of the time was or where exactly he resided; and as we have noted earlier, this appears to be another period in history when the Imāms had to go into hiding for long periods. Ivanow, on the basis of inscriptions and literary evidence has succeeded in dating the period of most of the Imāms of the post-Alamūt period, but the period of Imām Abū Dharr 'Alī remains undetermined, and at best Ivanow is able to show that his successor Imām Dhū al-Faqār 'Alī was born in 1567 and died in 1634.[267] This evidence indicates that Imām Abū Dharr 'Alī was alive towards the last quarter of the sixteenth century and thus ties in with the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n138/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

dates we have relating Pīr Dādū to his Imāms.

Dādū's importance in the later phase of the da'wa is indicated by the number of fa'l attributed to him in the manuscripts.[268] Before leaving him one cannot help speculating on the possible connection his name might have with that of his namesake and contemporary, the Hindu mystic Dādū, born in Gujarat and who lived between 1544 and 1603.[269] The name "Dādū", is most probably a term of endearment of Indian origin and may quite possibly have been attributed to the Pīr after his coming to India.[270] Nanjiani gives Dādū the central role in the re-organization of the Indian community and also suggests that he fixed a new form for the dū'a, but does not give any evidence as to how this was achieved.[271] Besides the few details of his activity we have discussed above, all that can be safely said is that Dādū represents the post-schism era in the da'wa's development, working to reinforce the community's links with Iran and to repair the damage done by the split.

The continuation of the da'wa's activity is attested to by the preservation of a number of names which fleet across the post-schism period, but about whose precise activities and biographies we know almost nothing beyond a few details. The importance of some of these figures in the context of the Tradition is shown by the existence of ginans attributed to them in the manuscripts. However, the change in the structure of the da'wa denoted

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n139/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

by the sending of the Pandiyāt and the re-organization in Iran attested to by the account of Khayr Khwāh had its implication in India, as well. From the time of Dādū none of the names of the local figures associated with the da'wa in India appears in the genealogy of pīrs. The other manuscripts give some indication of what this change was. The colophons of the Khōjkī manuscripts preserve certain terms that denote individuals who were in charge of the da'wa locally. One such term is Vakīl and gives the impression that the Imāms were now appointing representatives called Vakīls to look after the community.[272] In conjunction with "Vakīl", the other term that appears quite frequently is Bāwā.[273] We can link this with one of the terms used in the standard da'wa hierarchy both in Fāṭimid and Nizārī works, the bāb.[274] In these works, the term denoted a very high position in the hierarchy, but its transformation in the Indian context meant that it referred to the official who looked after Da'wā matters locally. One reference in a colophon uses the words "Vakīl" and "Bāwā" for one and the same person, possibly indicating an integration of two roles in one family.[275] Another function of the Vakīl may also have been the collection of tithes and their transference to the seat of the Imām. On the whole, as the term implies, the Vakīls acted as representatives of the Imāms amongst the community in India.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n140/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Meanwhile, the work of disseminating religious teaching and conducting of the da'wa was continued locally by the Sayyids, that is, by those who were regarded as the descendants of Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn and who remained true to the Nizārī Imāms. One important branch of Sayyids who are said to have undertaken the work of the da'wa in Sind is known as the "Kaḍiwala" Sayyids because of their traditional association with the town of Kaḍi in Cutch prior to their coming to Sind. This migration is attributed to the schism that took place in the time of Nar Muḥammad Shāh.[276]

We know of some of these Sayyids only from the fact that there are shrines commemorating their memory in Sind and from current oral tradition among existing descendants. One early figure is Kabīr Shāh whose shrine is found near Tando Muhammad Khan,[277] and another is Nūr Shāh who is buried in the village of Raḷi.[278] Raḷi was ravaged by a drought, and the family moved to Tando Muhammad Khan around 1780 where their head was Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh. Although no gināns of the the two earlier Sayyids figure in the Tradition, there are certain gināns of Sayyid Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh which have been preserved.[279] In a ginān he refers to the Imām of the time as Abū Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh residing in Shahri Babak.[280] Both these details can be verified by inscriptions and other historical data around the Imām who died in 1790 in Kirman.[281]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n141/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Thus the oral tradition about Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh would seem to agree with the testimony about his period with that of Imām Shāh Abū Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh.

After him comes Sayyid Ghulām ʿAlī Shāh about whom we have some indication in the manuscripts in which a ginān called Manhar attributed to him is preserved.[282] However, the earliest reference to him occurs in a manuscript copied in 1801 which gives a few lines of poetry composed by Ghulām ʿAlī Shāh.[283] In addition, a copyist, in one of the other manuscripts, has inserted greetings for the readers from the son of Ghulām ʿAlī Shāh, who is not named. The exact date is given as the fourteenth of the month of Fāgaṇ S.1877 (1820).[284] Oral tradition preserved among Ismāʿīlīs in Sind and also in Nanjiani give his year of death as 1792 or 1796.[285] It seems clear from all this that he was doing work on behalf of the daʿwa in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and also that he composed gināns, the most important of which was a treatise entitled Manhar. Although he is said to have died in Karachi in Sind, his body was taken for burial to Kera in Cutch where he used to go to do most of his work and where he had many disciples from among local Hindus. One of the functions attributed to him is that of delivering religious dues of the community to the Imām in Iran and he thus acted as a Vakīl.

He was succeeded in this work by Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n142/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

There are some ginans attributed to him. He died in 1813 and was buried in Bombay. A beautiful mausoleum was erected over his grave, and in due course the present Khōjā cemetery also came to be build around the mausoleum.[287] Reference is made to Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh in the proceedings of the "Aga Khan" Case of 1866 where it is stated that "he was buried in Durga about 30 years ago" (i.e. around 1836). This date is about twenty years years later than the date given by Tradition, and it would appear from the transcripts of the Case to have been an off-hand remark made by the Barrister concerned and not really "researched" as much of his other material.[288]

In Gujarat, meanwhile, there is also preserved a tradition of continued da'wa activity, showing some interaction with the Imām-Shāhī groups. One group of followers in Gujarat who remained loyal to the Nizārī Imāms and their representatives in India also call themselves Mōmnas.[289] This term is also used to denote some of the Imām-Shāhī adherents and is referred to in the Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī as well, in connection with the followers of Imām Shāh.[290] Thus it is possible, as Tradition maintains, that just as Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn's converts came to be called Khōjās, so those of Imām Shā'. were given the name Mōmnas (most probably a popularization of the word Mu'min).

The Nizārī Mōmnas allege that after the schism they gave

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n143/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

allegiance to Sayyid Fāḍil Shāh (a descendant of the Pīr Mashā'ikh of Khayr Khwāh's account) who continued to deliver the religious dues to Iran on their behalf.[291] He settled in Kaḍi and gave rise to the tradition of Kaḍiwala Sayyids mentioned earlier who migrated later to Sind.[292] There are a few gināns of Fāḍil Shāh preserved in the manuscripts.[293] Two of his sons figure prominently in the development of the Tradition in Gujarat. One is Ḥasan Pīr who is buried in Thanapipli near Junagadh. The overseer of the shrine there was known, at least in the last century, to be sending part of the annual collection from pilgrims to the shrine to the Nizārī Imāms.[294] According to Nanjiani, the Khōjās and the Nizārī Mōmnas built a shrine in Ganod in Gujarat as a tribute to Ḥasan Pīr in 1717.[295] One much later but interesting sidelight preserved about the shrines which has some relevance for Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, was a customary childhood visit paid by Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāh, the "founder" of modern Pakistan during his childhood. His parents, who were Khōjās, are said to have taken him there.[296] Beyond the fact of the existence of a shrine we have no other data about Ḥasan Pīr.

Some interesting details, however, are preserved about his brother, Pīr Mashā'ikh II. The Nizārī Mōmna Tradition alleges that he was appointed in charge of the jamā'at in Northern Gujarat while his brother Ḥasan Pīr worked in Kathiawad. In due course

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n144/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Pīr Mashā'ikh fell prey to worldly temptation, absconded with religious tithes and was excommunicated. He became a Sunni, and as Aurangzeb was at that time Emperor and his aversion to religious practices not in line with orthodoxy was well known, Pīr Mashā'ikh went to him and sought support to convert the Nizārī Mōmnas to Sunnism. This led to the imprisonment of his brother Ḥasan Pīr and the eventual submission of most of the Nizārī Mōmnas to Sunnism. Those who did remain faithful in due course came under the jurisdiction of Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Shāh and then of Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh who looked after their interests.[297]

The other section of Mōmnas, who presumably accepted Mashā'ikh Shāh as their leader, do not at present acknowledge the Nizārī line of Imāms; and they too have preserved their own version of the split which has some basis in a written account dating to the eighteenth century. This account gives us Mashā'ikh Shāh's dates of birth as 1650 and of death as 1697. The account also links him with Aurangzeb whom he is said to have visited in the Deccan and to have prayed for during Aurangzeb's war with the Shī'ī rulers of Bijapur.[298] There is, however, a list of works preserved that are attributed to Mashā'ikh as part of an attempt to eliminate Hindu practices from among his followers. The works are in an orthodox vein and contain references to Ithnā 'Asharī Imāms, showing a distinct Shī'ī coloring. Most of the works, at

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n145/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

least in their formal aspect, draw as their models from the earlier ginans which link Mashā'ikh with the mainstream of the da'wa. But amidst all the confusing accounts it is difficult to suggest what his exact inclinations were. If one might speculate on the basis of his visits to the Deccan and the Shī'ī strain in his works, there is a possibility that he might have come into contact with the descendants of Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkanī, the representative of the Muḥammad Shāhī line of Nizārī Imāms, who introduced Shī'ism, which remained the state religion until Aurangzeb's victory over the rulers of Bijapur, to the rulers of the Bahmanī Kingdom.[299] If this were the case, his "secession" may have been to the Muḥammad Shāhī line and the alleged collusion with Aurangzeb a form of taqīya. To illustrate the confusion it might be noted that his followers at present have been unable to decide whether he was a Sunni or a Shī'a, and this has led to conflict and even litigation among them.[300]

Notwithstanding the schism and the persecution under Aurangzeb, the Nizārī Mōmnas continued to maintain links with the Imāms in Iran to whom they sent their tithes through the Vakīl. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there is inscriptional evidence to suggest the close degree of contact that had developed between the community in India and the centre in Iran, particularly after the Imāms moved from Anjudān to nearby

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n146/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Kahak which became the Dar-Khāna.[301] In the same area as the grave of Imām Nizār who died in 1722, we find graves of Indian Ismā'īlīs with Khōjkī inscriptions.[302] Perhaps some of these were pilgrims who died during a visit or while on a mission with the Vakīls to deliver the tithes. The earliest inscription is dated 1722.[303] In addition to the inscriptions we have evidence of the practice of letters sent by the Imāms to the community in India. One of the ways by which the Imāms throughout the Fāṭimid and Nizārī periods kept in touch with the widely scattered communities was by sending letters. Although the letters preserved in the case of the community in India do not go back beyond 1792, the practice suggests the continuation of an earlier tradition.[304]

In order to round off this final phase in the development of the Nizārī Tradition, which also brings us to the transference of the Imāms from Iran to India with the coming of Āgā Khān I, Hasan 'Alī Shāh, to Bombay in 1845, we need to consider Bibi Imām Begum, the last of the ginān composers and the only female figure in the Tradition to have been so. She was from the family of Kaḍiwala Sayyids, and she used to compose and sing gināns to the jamā'at as part of her duties to propagate the da'wa. She died at the beginning of the present century and was buried in Karachi. Eight of her compositions have been preserved.[305]

With the coming of the Imāms to India, the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n147/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

in India enter into the modern era, bringing to a climax the various stages in the emergence of the da'wa there, and symbolizes the promise in the ginans, as well as in works of the Alamut period that the Imam would one day "appear" on the Sub-continent.[306]

A brief re-evaluation of the main phases of the da'wa's activity and the background against which it emerged and spread, highlights certain key points.

The first and most obvious point concerns the Nizārī Ismā'īlī ideological orientation of the da'wa. It originated from Iran; and not only did it constantly seek to project this orientation in the Tradition, but also through the course of its history, the mainstream of the da'wa continued to maintain strong links with the Imāma in Iran.

Although the Ismā'īlī character of the da'wa is well attested, we know that the constant persecution and resulting instability had led to a reinforcing of taqīya. This significant trait, which had a long history in Shī'ism and particularly in Ismā'īlism, points to a mode of expression peculiar to groups and individuals writing or expressing themselves under the constant threat of persecution. Such a mode had been developed by the Ismā'īlī da'wa from early times and consisted of a systematically devised art of conveying the doctrine in symbolic terms. Faced, in the Indo-Muslim context, with threats both from the political and

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n148/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

religious institutions, as is readily illustrated in Ismā'īlī history and in the ginān narratives, the da'wa fell back upon this historically built-in trait. When we consider its doctrine, the point, that such a doctrine would by force of circumstance be couched in allusive terms, deliberately designed to be transmitted only to the close adherents, must be kept constantly in mind. This tendency is, in turn, related to the second major point. The political, social and religious trends current in the Sub-continent throughout the major phases of the da'wa's activity show, even in Mughal times, a tendency to gravitate towards relatively compact and self-contained in-grouping. We find there to have existed a large number of autonomous and semi-autonomous petty states, numerous religious organizations, comprising the major ṣūfī orders, the so-called heterodox groups of ṣūfīs, the Mahdavī sects, the qalandars, the adherents of the Bhakti movement, and the diversified groups within Hinduism. At the social and economic level, a complex stratification according to castes and professional affiliations was evident among both Muslims and Hindus; the existence of all of these elements indicates that the da'wa had ample opportunity to camouflage itself as one more strand within the heterogenous fabric of Indo-Muslim society, without making itself too apparent.

Fianlly when we consider the response of the da'wa, with

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n149/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

its established ideological background, to an immensely complicated and fluid psycho-social environment generated by the penetration of Islam into the Sub-continent, it is apparent that unlike other Muslim groups, the da'wa did not have the option of attempting to attract converts towards its own way of Islamic life as openly as it would have preferred. The other alternative was to respond to the situation by a reformulation in which its ideals would be allowed to acclimatize themselves within the milieu and consequently come to possess a direct appeal to indigenous converts. In the process the reformulation would blend well enough with other current beliefs, so as not to appear noticeably "Ismā'īlī".[307] How this new direction that was given to Ismā'īlism is reflected in the Tradition, and the constant tension that underlies the attempt to come to terms with such a radical reformulation, constitutes the main problem of the next part of the thesis.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n150/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

PART TWO

THE THEMES

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n151/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

CHAPTER VI

Anagogic Qualities of the Gināns

The previous part dealing with the spread of the da'wa, demonstrated that it originated as an arm of the main Nizārī Ismā'īlī da'wa centered in Iran. The self-image of the Tradition also underlines the fact that the mainstream of the movement in India sought to link itself with, and derive its identity on the basis of allegiance to, the Nizārī Ismā'īlī Imāms.

In the evaluation of the Tradition and more particularly the gināns, it was repeatedly emphasised that the attempt to seek historical data in the gināns reflected only a partial aspect of their value, which was however of significant importance in helping to provide the historical framework within which the gināns developed. No literary tradition can be divorced from considerations such as sociological and historical background, psychological and theological understanding, and philosophical and ethnological knowledge,[1] but all in a sense serve to provide a point of departure in any quest for intelligibility of the end product - in our case the gināns. The real value lies in those aspects which illuminate the way in which the da'wa sought to explain itself to the new adherents, the methods it used to evoke a positive response, and

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n152/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the content which it presented as the sum of its experience and understanding of the values it preached.

It has already been suggested in the analysis of the narratives that their prime function was to serve as literary vehicles for conveying specific ideas within the framework of long established Ismā'īlī themes. At that point only a passing reference was made to those themes, but as our analysis proceeds it will be possible to perceive how these are at work in the gināns.

The gināns belong to the literary category which is generally defined as "anagogic", that is to say "mystic or esoteric in its broadest sense".[2] This last statement requires certain clarification within the context of Ismā'īlī literature as a whole. The feature that characterizes a significant portion of Ismā'īlī literature, particularly that which belongs to the specialized realm of ḥaqā'iq[3] literature is that it is esoteric in nature and thrives on the use of ta'wīl whose function it is to penetrate to the inner (bāṭin) signification of the Qur'ān rather than the external (ẓāhir) aspects.[4] On this basis was constructed a whole system of hermeneutics, which metamorphosed positive religion with its external rules and obligations into a theosophy which constituted the True Religion, leading the adept through a process of intellectual and spiritual initiation to the truth of the ḥaqā'iq.[5]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n153/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Given the postulate that we are dealing with a Tradition that draws its inspiration from a well established Ismā'īlī frame of reference, and with awareness of the specific method by which the Ismā'īlī da'wa presents its teaching, one can approach the gināns with a better perspective for understanding the themes that run through them. The approach suggested in this section is a themal one.[6] The purpose behind such a themal analysis it to elucidate the import of the gināns and also to permit a comparison with the kind of themes that have preoccupied Ismā'īlī literature from its inception. In this way a themal description helps to focus on the main concerns of the gināns' intent and will allow for an analysis of the mode of transformation by which the gināns have transposed such focal Ismā'īlī themes into a new framework. In order to appreciate how this recreation is effected and how the mode of transformation operates, Lévi Strauss' explanation of mythologically oriented thought as analogous to what he defines as "intellectual bricolage" may serve as useful here. At the bottom of his argument lies the conviction that the heterogenous repertoire of this type of thought uses images and signs to lead to concepts which are being continually reconstructed.[7] In relation to an analysis of the gināns, what this theory implies is that when the Tradition is viewed within Ismā'īlī thought in a time perspective and as a structure with an ordered pattern of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n154/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

possibilities and potentialities, rather than a rigid framework we can distinguish between ephemeral and deeply grounded associations in the symbolism and themes that are evident in the gināns. Because the gināns belong to the category of esoteric literature, the themes do not appear as literal atatements. Rather they appear in a mythical state or are couched in symbolism. Hence our aim will be to synthesize the import behind these symbols and in the final stages of synthesis to describe the interrelationship between the main themes, the way they interact and the process by which such standard Ismā'īlī themes are evolved in the gināns. Such an approach will by no means provide an overall interpretation, it can only offer for the time being, a partial view, a perspective for understanding the import of the gināns.

In order to establish what the basic themes are, and how the gināns "present" these themes, we return to the narratives.

The Archetypal dā'ī in the ginān narratives

The narratives are an example of mythopoesis[8] at work. The gināns seized upon Hindu motifs and myths and transformed these into narratives reflecting the da'wa's preaching. Whereas the narratives recount the coming of the da'wa as if it actually took

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n155/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

place, the mythopoeic element underlying them, transposes the accounts to a symbolic level. As defined by Slochower, mythopoesis differs from myth proper in that the recreation reflects "a critique of the existing social norms and points to a futuristic order which is envisaged as integrating the valuable residues of the past and the present".[9] This is precisely what emerges as the prime function of the narratives, where the pīr, having gained the acceptance of the people, introduces his teaching which leads to a new way of life and thought, without totally rejecting the conceptual and even social framework of the society he has penetrated.

Reference has already been made to the fact that within the set of narratives, there exists a prototype, reflecting in its stereotyped mode and iterative features, the activities of the dā'Is. The original prototype continues to be reinforced in all the narratives, and the pattern of themal development mirrors the way in which the dā'I approaches the potential converts, impresses his message upon them and leads them to Satpanth or the True Way.

As more materials on Ismā'Ilism come to light, a clear picture of the inner working of the da'wa, the function of the dā'Is in propagating on behalf of the Imāms and the methods they employed.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n156/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

A dā'ī representing the Imām, particularly in a remote area, was granted considerable autonomy. A Fāṭimid work informs us that the dā'ī stood in relation to the Imām as the wife to the husband. The husband, after having deposited the sperm, played no further part in the development of the foetus except to protect and feed the mother,[10] a metaphor that is incidentally echoed almost exactly in a post-Alamūt Nizārī work.[11] A dā'ī was also expected to be fully conversant with the local conditions and languages of the area in which he operated. His task was not only to win converts and accept the oath of allegiance but also to organize and manage the community in strict accordance with principles of equality.[12] A concrete example of a dā'ī working within the principle outlined above is afforded to us by Qāḍī Nu'mān in his description of the mission of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shī'ī, the dā'ī responsible for winning North Africa and the Berbers over to the Fāṭimid cause.[13] Another example from the later Fāṭimid period is al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shirāzī.[14] Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ and the establishment of the Nizārī Ismā'īlī state in Iran,[15] and the work of Rashīd al-Dīn Sinān who built up the Nizārī power in Syria,[16] provide examples within the Nizārī tradition. Such examples illustrate for us the role of the dā'īs within a political as well as a religious context, because all four figures were in one way or the other involved in establishing

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n157/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

political principalities for their respective Imāms.

For our purposes however, I have felt it better to illustrate the theme of the archetypal dā'I in Ismā'Ilism, by comparing the ginān narratives to another archetypal narrative with almost similar iterative features which exists in earlier pre-Fāṭimid Ismā'Ilī literature.[17] This gives us an opportunity to trace the phases of what Corbin has termed an "experimental spiritual psychagogy"[18] by which a neophyte is initiated and led to membership of the "True Way". Tha advantage of choosing this narrative in the context of this thesis, is that the account is not overtly concerned with political motives, and hence the specifically religious elements in it can be isolated for purposes of comparison.

Since Ivanow has already provided a summary of the Kitāb al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām and Corbin has traced in it elements of what he terms the archetypal narrative,[19] we will underline those characteristics of the account that bear comparison with the ginān narratives and identify the technique of propagation and initiation as it is revealed in both.[20]

The first point relates to the unobtrusive arrival of the dā'I at a place far from home. In the case of al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām the protagonist, Abū Malik, is a type of Spiritual Exile who, as part of his mission, has left his home. In the gināns, the pīrs are on a mission too, having left their homes to come

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n158/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

to propagate in another milieu. Just as Abū Malik enters a town incognito and mingles with the crowd before attempting to make any converts, so Shams in the narratives enters Ucch unobtrusively and repairs to a mosque. Both eventually find a disciple. The variation in the case of Satgur Nūr is interesting. Initially he too enters Pātan as a stranger and only draws attention upon himself indirectly. The important factor, whether in the case of Abū Malik and Shams or of Satgur Nūr, is the import of the way they draw attention upon themselves. There is no throwing of oneself into the fray as it were, but a calculated, cautious effort at entrenchment. Abū Malik finds one disciple, and as the story unfolds in a series of dialogues, so the Ismā'īlī technique of pedagogy becomes evident. The process is a three fold one. Initially the young man's curiosity is awakened, and he becomes sensitized to the meaning of symbols, the use of ta'wīl that leads from the letter to the spirit. He is made aware of a new dimension that leads him not only from the ẓāhir to the bāṭin but also lets him grasp the underlying connection, the "esoteric of the esoteric" (bāṭin al-bāṭin). His desire having been aroused by the revelation of this inner doctrine, the disciple is eager to know more about the person in whose hands are placed the keys to Paradise, i.e. the Imām.

For this the disciple must go on to the second stage

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n159/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

which consists of the initiation proper. In this stage the disciple is assigned a name, symbolizing his entry into a completely new way of life, like a "new born babe". This is to lead him to the third and final stage of the "transformation" in a ceremony that takes place a week later. What transpires at this ceremony must remain unrecorded. The text does not reveal the secret; it has only been communicated personally to the disciple.

In the ginān narratives there is reference to disciples associated with both Satgur Nūr and Shams. The treatment accorded to the initiatory process, though it follows a different set of structural events than al-ʿĀlim wa-al-Ghulām, shows a remarkable similarity in the overall pattern governing the events.

The images of "cooked" and "raw" that appear in accounts of both Satgur Nūr and Shams, indicate at once that we are in the realm of transformation from one state to another. The Princess in the first narrative has been eating cooked meat regularly, but it is not until the meat has come into "contact" with Satgur Nūr that the Princess is made aware of the presence of the bridegroom in the vicinity. The metaphor of bride and groom is a common one in Hindu mystical poetry and stands for the soul of the "seeker" and the "sought" respectively. It is therefore noteworthy that after the initial meeting, a marriage is arranged, symbolizing

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n160/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the union of the souls, and that the marriage is prefaced by elaborate preparations as if an initiation ritual of some kind was being prepared. The rejection by the Princess of her father's argument against the marriage because Satgur Nūr does not measure up to "caste" requirements symbolizes her rejection of the external, and when the King himself observes the miracles of the Pīr, he too is converted. The miracles in the gināns are in this sense analogous to the preaching by which Abū Malik wins over the disciple to the True Way, and it is significant that as a post-script to the conversion of Siddharāja, Satgur Nūr "initiates him into the mysteries and leads him to Satpanth".

The action surrounding Shams is much more specifically related to a disciple whom he "brings back to life", echoing the rebirth and the new name in al-ʿĀlim wa-al-Ghulām. After his revival, the disciple also goes away with Shams. The eventual confrontation that Shams has with the sharīʿa-minded qāḍīs who objected to his method of bringing back to life the dead Prince leads to the symbolic action where Shams takes off his skin; that is, on the one hand he throws off his link with the external aspects, and on the other, by removing his skin he also "manifests" himself as he is. However the people do not recognise the "reality" behind Shams. Even Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā who, as suggested, represents organized ṣūfism cannot match Shams; and as the narrative

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n161/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

explains, Bahā' al-Dīn, notwithstanding the fact that he is a ṣūfī, must be rejected because of his inability to recognize the Imāms, symbolized in the reference to the "three friends" and the "Panj-tan-i-Pāk". In al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām, there is a discussion of ṣūfism, and there again the attitude is one of disapprobation though ṣūfī practices are not disapproved entirely. In all cases the Imām, or as in the ginānns the pīrs as his ḥujja, form the key factor. The perfectly True Way can only be that which leads to the Imām of the Ismā'īlīs.

Though our narratives make no reference to a ceremony of initiation, there is preserved in the ginānns related to the activity of Shams the ceremony of Ghaṭ-pāṭ,[21] where the new initiate participates in a ritual where he drinks a sip of the sacred water. This ceremony was preceded by the giving up of the janōi,[22] the sacred thread worn by every Hindu, and this marked the convert's total break with the old ways and his initiation into a new path.

The narratives differ significantly from al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām in their use of mythopoesis, and the "action" is, therefore, on a vaster, even "epic", level where the pīr is endowed with all those qualities of traditional Hindu heroes who perform miracles; and this level is further projected in the conversion of great royal personages like Siddharāja. The contrast is one of tone and underlines once more the fact that the vehicle and

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n162/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the signs employed in conveying the ideas depend very much on the milieu in which the da'wa was operating. Al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām belongs to the earliest period of Ismā'īlī activity before the heyday of Fāṭimid rule while the gināns belong to the post-Alamūt stage when the imperial dreams of the Ismā'īlīs had long been shattered; but the basic motifs remain the same.

These motifs emerge in interrelated themes in the ninth century spiritual romance as well as in the gināns and centre around the figure of the archetypal dā'ī and the spiritual "psychagogy" used in propagating the doctrine. This then forms the first of our themes, but its value lies not only in the fact that it constitutes a theme in itself but that it reveals to us other focal themes. The most important of these relates to the question of the "reality" behind the pīrs and the Imām who forms the object of the spiritual rebirth in al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām. This matter leads us into the heart of Ismā'īlism, its doctrine of the Imām.

The most climatic event in terms of doctrinal development in Nizārī Ismā'īlism was the proclamation of the Qiyāma during the Imāma of Ḥasan alā dhikrihī al-Salām (Ḥasan II) which took place in Alamūt on the 17th of Ramaḍān in the year 559 A.H. (August 8, 1164).[23] This event, references to which have only been partially preserved, signified a shift, a re-emphasis, in certain key areas of the doctrine. The Qiyāma, which to outsiders like Rashīd al-Dīn

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n163/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and Juvaynī appeared as a "reform", was in reality only a fulfillment and culmination of earlier Ismā'īlī doctrine.[24]

In its classical form, as developed under the Fāṭimid da'wa, Ismā'īlī Religious Philosophy, or Theosophy, devised a system of cosmic order, where the complexity of all existence was traced via a principle of logical priorities to a primeval origin in an hierarchical series.[25] Ismā'īlī doctrine underlined strongly the idea of an absolute transcendence, where God remained absolutely, the Unknowable. The emphasis was on the inscrutable mystery of God. By His amr (command) and through the process of ibdā' (origination) God brings into existence the world of intelligences, the first of which is called al-'Aql al-Awwal.[26] Below these there came other Intelligences, and their number varies according to the scheme adopted by the various Ismā'īlī writers.[27] The Intelligence came to constitute what was termed the "Universe of Intelligences" ('Ālam al-Ibdā'). These Intelligences were thought to control the rotation of the celestial spheres and, consequently, correspondences were established between the various Intelligences and the celestial spheres.[28]

At another level the hierarchy of Intelligences was also made to correspond to the Universe of Religion ('Ālam al-Dīn) in order to provide a religious hierarchy among human beings. Actually within the Ismā'īlī system this ordering represented a hierarchy

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n164/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of worshippers, (Ḥudūd al-Dīn), the lower among whom corresponded in turn to the lesser cosmic principles. The higher ones, constituting the first three intelligences, came to be identified with the Prophet, his Wāṣī and the succeeding Imāms respectively. Thus, for the Fāṭimid writers in general, the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī and the Imāms after ʿAlī were the epiphanic representatives, the maẓhars, of the triple hypostases represented by the first three Intelligences.[29]

One principle underlying the cosmic order with all its correspondence in the astral as well as the terrestrial world, including the world of religion, was that the full chain of hierarchies existed as part of a single indivisible process. The multiplicity of all existent things had meaning only in as much as it formed an integral part of the whole system. The various component parts stood in relation to the preceding phase in the respective hierarchy, in terms of being less perfect than the phase coming before, until the First Intelligence, al-ʿAql al-Awwal, which stood with its respective correspondences in the other worlds, as superior in its perfection to everything below. For Man, the religious hierarchy represented the path he would have to traverse, the ladder he would have to climb in order to reach to this First Intelligence, such a return representing the potential goal he could attain and through which he could recognize the unity of God.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n165/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

As a conjunct of this cosmic order which can be considered as a vertical scale, the IsmāʿīlI theosophy developed a typological view of history on the horizontal scale. In this scale, which represented the theosophy as it operated in history, a scheme of Cycles of Prophecy was devised. Each cycle began with a Prophet and his Wāṣī. There had been six such cycles already, and the Prophet Muḥammad had inaugurated the seventh.[30] Each of the six cycles was closed by a Qiyāma, marking the passage of one Revelation to another, and the Seventh or Final Cycle would end with a Qiyāmat al-Qiyāma (the Grand Resurrection). This would also mark the advent of the Qāʾim, with the power to abrogate the Sharīʿa and herald a new religious era.[31] This scheme or typological view of history was also extended to provide a cycle for Islam. This cycle, according to the system already devised, also had a seven fold rhythm, consisting, besides the Prophet and the Wāṣī who were seen as the initiators of the cycle, of seven Imāms and followed by a Qāʾim, each with its own recurring hierarchy, complete in itself.[32] The Qāʾim was, therefore, seen as the consummation of each rhythmic cycle, and the teaching he brought would correspondingly be a consummation of all positive religion.

Such then was the heritage on which the declaration of the Qiyāma by Ḥasan II, was built. It marked, according to the doctrine that was propounded, the end of a religious era which

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n166/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

had hitherto striven for physical perfection in the fulfillment of moral obligation, and the beginning of a new era which culminated in the triumph of a spiritual dispensation of moral perfection. As a result, the primacy of the Sharī'a, the external level of reality in the religious life, had come to an end, and the veil of taqīya had been lifted. The symbolism was heightened by the fact that the Qiyāma was proclaimed during Ramadān, the month of fasting, and was followed by a Feast, making explicit the emphasis on a new orientation where what really mattered was the spiritual life concerned with the inward states of the soul.[33]

With the end of the period of taqīya, there also ended the period of occultation (satr) when the Imām had been unable to reveal his true self or identity. Now the Qiyāma was ushered in by the Qā'im whose function it was to bring to an end the rule of the Sharī'a, and bring about the promised Paradise on earth. Aside from this function the Qā'im was also the focal point of the new doctrine, for he, as the living Imām, "is the Lord of everything in existence. He is that Lord who is the Absolute Being".[34] In other words, the greatest reward of Paradise as exemplified in the Islamic Tradition, the face to face meeting with God,[35] had become actualized in the Qiyāma doctrine. The Imām, as the Divine Epiphany, had become visible, and to see him,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n167/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

indeed, was to see God. This "seeing", however, required that one perceive the spiritual reality behind the QĀ'im, for just to view his body was useless - "Whoever by his own eyes sees the Original Substance, he has seen all the revelations and all the Divine signs, but whoever perceives through its names and attributes, he is misled and confounded and prevented (from real knowledge)".[36]

Thus the religion of the Qiyāma, in its strongest assertion of the doctrine, established the priority of the Imām and his office. In the Nizārī Ismā'īlī doctrine from then on and particularly in the post-Alamūt works, this re-emphasis on the figure of the Imām-QĀ'im led to a revision of the system of correspondence that had been developed under the Fāṭimid da'wa. The Imām's position in the previous hierarchy as the representation of the Second Principle, now became that corresponding to the Creative Word itself, extending over the entire hierarchy of the pleroma. The figure of the ḥujja was also invested with added significance. His function was compared to that of the Moon, illuminating the world by virtue of the light it received from the Sun (i.e. the Imām). As a homologue of the Imām from pre-eternal time, the ḥujja in fact became the "Threshold" through which one had to pass before achieving knowledge of the Imām.[37]

The shift in doctrine resulted in a transformed series of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n168/mode/1up

realpatidar.com.

wāṣīs, as contemporaries to the various cycles of Prophecy. Also reflected was the new attitude that had developed toward the Imām. The old figure of the wāṣī, as the heir to the Prophets, now became known as Mawlānā (Our Lord), a position in fact where the Prophets' roles became secondary to those of the new figures.[38] One specific tendency that this new series and the new Qā'im figures revealed was a movement away from the highly schematized mytho-history of the classical Fāṭimid period, to a level where narrative mythology by fastening on heroic figures, moved closer towards a folk-oriented mythology. The new attitude suggested a predilection for an atmosphere of mystery and paradox. Nevertheless, the Nizārī system, like the Fāṭimid one, gravitated towards an interpretation of history as a continuing conflict, leading to eventual victory by the forces that possessed the esoteric truth over the adversaries who held on to the literal meaning of religion.[39] Another common factor shared by the two systems was underlined by a cosmology with its division of the Universe into celestial and terrestrial worlds, which acted as a back drop against this cyclical view of history.

A further point that needs to be emphasized is the ability of Ismā'īlī writers to integrate into their systems a variety of strands. Just as we find in the Fāṭimid schemes the use of a Neoplatonic emanationist outlook to propound the doctrine

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n169/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

so also in Nizārī works we find attempts to weave into their doctrine as many ancient traditions as possible to "project the cosmic vistas sought by the author".[40] All of this brings us back to the point made earlier in this section about the method by which concepts are continually restructured in Ismā'īlī thought to provide a new formulation of the doctrine. It is against this background, reflecting a revised but still ecumenically-oriented heritage of Ismā'īlism that we turn to study the themes of divine manifestation preached by the pīrs, in the changed context represented by the Sub-continent.

Divine Epiphany and Cyclical Descent: Maẓhar and Avatāra

A much more specific instance of mythopoesis at work in the gināns appears in those works where the pīrs tried to reformulate, within a Hindu framework, the Ismā'īlī doctrine of the Imām as the Divine Epiphany. This mythopoesis is reflected in a ginān which may perhaps be called a classic within the whole Tradition, the work entitled Dasa Avatāra. Even to superficial observers from the outside, this work was seen to lay down the definitive formulation of the doctrine, and it is no coincidence that the work also figured prominently in the various court cases.[42]

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n170/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

All this aside, the Dasa Avatāra was indeed a central work in the Tradition, and this is attested to by the usage it was put to in many ceremonies and its regular recital during the congregational prayers. In addition its importance is also highlighted by the fact that it has survived in three separate versions, all attributed to different authors, the smaller Dasa Avatāra composed by Ṣadr al-Dīn, an amplified version attributed to Imām Shāh and finally a much more concise Dasa Avatāra alleged to be the work of Shams.[43] The Dasa Avatāra also recurs, more than any other single ginān in the manuscripts, and it is significant that it is to be found in the oldest of these in the present collection.

The chief value for our present purposes is that Dasa Avatāra in all its versions, reflects for us both the content and method by which the doctrine of the Imāma was integrated into the da'wa's preaching within the framework of Vaishṇavite ideas concerning the various descents of Vishṇu through the ages. We have already had occasion to refer to the fact of Vaishaṇavism being one of the dominant streams of Hindu religious life in Northern India at the time the da'wa was active in those parts.

In general, the term "avatāra" in Vaishaṇavism came to signify the assumption of different forms, man or animal by God,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n171/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

in which Vishnu came down to earth and lived on it until the purpose for which he had descended into the Universe was fulfilled. The number of these avatāras gradually came to be stereotyped as ten, (dasa avatāra) from which the gināns take their name.[45]

Of the ten avatāras, the first three, Matsya, Kūrma and and Varaha are theriomorphic, the fourth Narsiṁha, thericanthropomorphic, and the rest Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Balarāma, Rāma, Buddha and Kalki are anthropomorphic.[46]

The order and names of the ten incarnations, as they appear in the Dasa Avatāra show some variation from the standard list above. In the preservation of the names, there was also apparently a process of "Khōjkī-ization",but, nonetheless, it is possible to identify the names without great difficulty. The list as we have it, based on the three versions of the Dasa Avatāra, reveals the following scheme with its Vaishnavite correspondence:[47]

1) Macch i.e. Matsya
2) Kōrabh i.e. Kūrma
3) Varā i.e. Varāha
4) Narsang i.e. Narsiṁha
5) Vaeman i.e. Vāmana
6) Farsirāma i.e. Paraśurāma
7) Ramchandra i.e. Rāma
8) Krishna i.e. Balarāma
9) Buddha i.e. Buddha
10) Naklanki i.e. Kalki

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n172/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Once the initial correspondence was established, one further step was taken in the gināns whereby the ten avatāras were fitted into the frame of a cyclical history. This was done on the basis of the Hindu concept of yuga.[48] We refer to the doctrine of the Four Yugas or Ages, the four cosmic cycles wherein the Universe was periodically created and destroyed. The yuga is actually the smallest unit of measuremnt preceded by a "dawn" and followed by a "dusk" which acts as a transition between the Yugas. The complete cycle constituting four Yugas is called Mahayuga, in which the longest occurs at the beginning and the shortest at the end of the cycle. The first Yuga is called Kṛita Yuga, the second Treta Yuga, then the Dvāpara Yuga, and finally the Kali Yuga, the present, so-called "evil" age.[49] The names of the yugas are taken from the game of dice, with each of the throws, from four to one, mirroring the respective yugas. The regression in the figures from four to one and the length of yugas, denotes a "progressive diminution of the Dharma (the extent of religious devotion) prevailing in them". Hence the last age, the present one, the Kali Yuga, is considered the age of darkness. Each of the yugas is assigned a numerical value in terms of either human or divine years (each divine year being the equivalent of 360 human years). The Kṛita Yuga is said to measure 4000 divine years, the Treta 3000, the Dvāpara 2000 and the Kali yuga 1000. In addition

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n173/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

400 years each of a dawn and dusk are added to each cycle. Thus one mahayuga or complete cycle totals 12,000 years.[50] In later times, speculation built further on these numbers and projected even larger cycles leading to a vaster concept - Kalpa (form) consisting of a thousand mahayugas, a total of 4,320,000 years.[51] The numerical symbolism and therhythm of a cyclical concept of time that recurs in each age already echo the classical preoccupations of Ismā'īlism with concepts of time and eternity which erupted in cycles of successive times, and which had been re-emphasized with increased vigor after the declaration of the Qiyāma.

Just as in Ismā'īlism, in both its Fāṭimid and Nizārī versions, the forces of evil symbolized by Iblīs[52] were set free and disturbed the state of harmony and innocence characterizing the mankind of the ending cycle and necessitating, in the period of transition to a new cycle, the coming of a Lawgiver to offset the forces of evil,[53] so in the Hindu doctrine the various avatāras had come to earth to put things right.[54] Within both the Hindu and the Ismā'īlī cyclical views, is introduced the figure who represents the Divine Epiphany, and this is precisely where the mythopoeic element in the gināns takes over. The Hindu doctrine had spoken of the coming tenth avatāra who would fight the forces of evil in the last Kali Yuga, the age of darkness.[55] In a ginān called Buddha Avatāra, however, the ninth incarnation is already

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n174/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

made to foretell the coming of this tenth avatāra.[56] The eschatological fulfillment of the Hindu doctrine would, however, find its culmination, not in the standard figure of Kalki, but as a form of 'Alī. He was to be the Mahdī who would kill Kaliṅga,[57] the embodiment of evil, the Iblīs of Hindu mythology. Furthermore, it was stated that this manifestation of 'Alī would be located in Dalamdesh (i.e. Daylamān), and he would be manifested through the teaching of Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn who would come to Jambūdvipa (i.e. India).[58] In the Dasa Avatāra, therefore, the da'wa was able to achieve this transformation of the doctrine of a recurrent manifestation of the Divine Being at what can be termed the horizontal level, in the light of the Ismā'īlī doctrine of a cyclical, typological view of history. The vertical level, where the mythopoesis was to metamorphose the doctrine of the "drama in heaven"[59] was left to be worked out in other gināns.

Such a cosmogonic background to the doctrine of divine manifestation appears in a number of gināns. Again following earlier practice, only these gināns which occur regularly in the manuscripts and especially in the older ones, are being used. The first of these is a ginān called Gāyatrī and the other is the Mōmgn Chetvarṇi, both of which have two versions each.[60] The elaboration of the "drama in heaven" that follows is abstacted

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n175/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

from the above gināns, and wherever cross-references occur in other gināns an attempt has been made to refer to them as well.

At the outset these gināns trace the initial act of creation which was brought about as a result of desire and self-contemplation by the Divine Being, who is described as being nirākār (i.e. formless). A foam like substance emerged from his mouth and took the form of an egg. Through additional acts of contemplation on this egg, the Divine Being created the ten heavens and the seven skies. This was followed by a long period of inactivity, a lull of many yugas, after which the Divine Being created out of his Light four forms. He took a form, too, thus bringing into existence a pentad, Muḥammad Mustafā, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and the form of the Divine Being, 'Alī. This is of course the doctrine of the Panj tan-i-Pāk, "th Five Companions of the Mantle" who in the proto-Ismā'īlī work entitle Umm al-Kitāb become the earthly epiphanies of the five pre-eternal persons of the divine mystery.[61] This dramaturgy of pre-cosmic origin thus establishes the original pentad as a unity, created out of one Light, and precedes the cycle of divine epiphanies in the Hindu tradition that these gināns will now go on to elaborate.

This is an opportune moment to look briefly at some of the main cosmogonic theories expounded in Hinduism as a prelude to further discussion of the cosmogony of the gināns.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n176/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The earliest theory as reflected in some of the hymns of the Ṛig Veda, speaks of the Unity of the Godhead as the cause of the world. This Unity is referred to in one place as Prajāpati, the"Lord of Creatures" who is identified with his creation.[62] In another hymn Creation is also visualized as a sacrificial act where the Primal Being, simply called Purusha (Man) goes through a process of self-immolation in order to bring into existence the manifold world.[63] In both cases, what might be termed the first principle of the Universe was made into a personalized entity.

After the Vedic concepts, the next important cosmogonic theory is to be found in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Here is developed the cosmic egg theory where again Prajāpati plays a big role as the figure who breaks open the egg and utters syllables out of which all Creation eventually comes into being. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa also contains the doctrine of the Brāhmaṇa as a creative principle who is made the foundation of all existence.[64] The Upanishads carried the doctrine of Brāhmaṇa further to illustrate the oneness of Brāhmaṇa and his presence in all created things. The ideas of the Upanishads, though developed and combined in various ways, always reffered back to the first principle as the creative element and one which also entered into the creation and was always present in it.[65]

The Mahābhārata in its own accounts, integrates many of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n177/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

elements that went into the above doctrines of creation, such as the cosmic egg theory; and in general it is thought that the Mahābhārata, being an encyclopaedia, makes an attempt "at producing some order and reconciliation in the variety of views as to cosmogony propounded in Vedic a d other sources".[66]

The Purāṇas, and among them the Vishnu Purāṇa, in particular, also aim at being all inclusive in their attempts to present a doctrine of creation. The Vishnu Purāṇa presents a very complex and interrelated cosmogony which it divides into four linked creation stories. One speaks of Vishnu as the eternal, unmanifest cause. The second myth makes Vishnu take the form of Varāha (the boar incarnation) who dives into the waters in search for the earth. The third story concerns the coming into being of everything through contemplation or austerity, and the fourth myth is that of creation through the churning of the ocean.[67] A complete description and investigation of the doctrine of creation within the religious history of India is obviously beyond the scope of our study, but what the short survey indicated above reveals is that the elements present in Hindu ideas of creation are too heterogenous and complex,and do not represent a fixed common cosmogony. Most of the works cited above seem to imply, however, a creation myth that emerges from a primordial chaotic matrix at the head of which stands a remote Supreme Being. Some of the elements that

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n178/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

dominate the myths are those of androgyny, the cosmic egg, symbol of sexuality and the primordial waters. Another common aspect of these stories is that in the majority of instances the act of creation unfolds as a myth, and hence it would be erroneous to offer a simple explanation that suggests that such cosmogonies were pseudo-philosophical explanations of how or why the world began.[68] This point needs to be emphasized because, though the gināns abstract from the religious thought of the Hindus the cosmogonic ideas best suited to explain their doctrine, nevertheless, the mythopoesis in the gināns, never attempts to provide a "philosophy" in the sense that one would apply the term to the Fāṭimid and even some Niẓārī works, which tried to offer systematic explanations. In this sense like some of the Hindu works cited above, the gināns make no attempt to elaborate a systematic theory of creation.. All the same this does not mean that there is indiscriminate and chaotic integration of elements from Hinduism. There is a selection of ideas and symbols which are, however, presented in mythical form. This mythopoeic mode of explanation in the gināns can best be described as inspirational rather than expository.

On returning to the cosmogonic outline elaborated in the gināns, we find that one of the Hindu concepts integrated into the framework is that of an initial, remote and transcendental

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n179/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Supreme Being. The Supreme Being, however, is not seen as being identical with any of its creations;and the symbol of the foam-like substance emerging out of the mouth of the "formless" being is significant and echoes, however remotely, the verbal command (amr or kalima) by which God brings into being his creation in previous Ismā'īlī doctrine.[69] Another factor of greater significance is the image of Light out of which the Five Pre-Eternal Figures of the Panj-tan-i-Pāk are created. The concept of Light does not play all that important a role in Hindu cosmogony, though it is not entirely unknown there as a progenitive cosmic power.[70] In the gināns, however, the image of Light takes on central importance because the pentad is, in fact, seen as emerging from this one Light and thus constitutes,in essence, a unity.

Having established the primacy of these Five Pre-Eternal Forms in their cosmogony, the gināns continue the dramaturgy to elaborate the epiphanic representations of this pentad to include also the gods of the Hindu theogony.

After the creation of the Pentad there elapses again, according to the gināns, a long period of inactivity. But after that, in a series of creations, the Five Pre-Eternal Forms become metamorphosed. Out of the Form of Muḥammad, issues the epiphany of Brahamā. The Divine Being already personified in the epiphany of 'Alī takes the form of Vishṇu. Ḥasan (whom the gināns also

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n180/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

make homologous to Adam), takes the form of Maheśvara i.e. Śiva. Fāṭima is made analogous with Śakti and also Sarasvatī who in Hindu tradition was often considered the daughter of Brahamā.[71]

Brahamā, Vishnu and Śiva, form a well known triad called the Trimūrti[72] in Hinduism, where their roles are described as being those of Creator, Sustainer and Destroyer, respectively. In the Hindu cosmogonic myths, according to Bhattacharji, "we are told that the three characters are but three manifestations of the same essence".[73] As suggested earlier, one need not search for a schematized view of creation in the gināns. Nevertheless, the integration of Hindu symbols suggested in the cosmogony elaborated in the gināns above, reveals for us a pattern which permits us to see that the gināns adopted only those symbols, which could be reconciled with the basic Ismā'īlī concepts of a Supreme Being who stands transcendant above his creation and yet is able to bring all creation into existence, through the creation of pre-eternal cosmic principles. These principles in the Fāṭimid and Nizārī works were made to correspond with Muḥammad, 'Alī and the Imāms, all playing key roles as the earthly epiphanies of the highest cosmic principles. The mode of mythopoesis inherent in the gināns transposes the earlier schemes, but retains the epiphanies of the Hindu theogony.

When we consider the cosmogony in the gināns as the back-

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n181/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

ground for the development of the doctrine of Dasa Avatāra, it becomes apparent how the vertical and horizontal levels have been fused. The "universe of the Intelligences" in the earlier Ismā'īlī schemes had as its earthly epiphanies, the Prophets, and their wāṣīs. In the post-Qiyāma doctrine these wāṣīs had reached the fullness of their potential epiphanic roles, by becoming the Imām-Qā'im figures. In the gināns there is evident a similar dimension. It is only the ten avatāras of Vishnu, the representation of the pre-eternal 'Alī, who are considered the most significant epiphanic earthly representations during the period of the Four Yugas. As the tenth avatāra, the historical 'Alī and after him the Imāms become the earthly epiphanies of the pre-eternal 'Alī.

Reference has already been made to the names of the wāṣīs standard in Fāṭimid works, which had become transformed into Imām-Qā'im figures in Nizārī works. These names occur in their transformed versions in the Gāyatrī and much more significantly were also recited in the ritual prayers.[74] There, however, they formed part of a series of names preceding the list of ancestors of 'Alī up to his father Abū Ṭālib, generally accepted in the Islamic tradition.[75] The series also included figures in the Hindu tradition who according to the Gāyatrī came before the period of the first yuga, i.e. during the long cycles of time called kalpa. These figures played the role of pātras, a Sanskrit

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n182/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

term which in its etymological sense implies the same representative function that the Wāṣīs had in relation to the Prophets.[76]

By the inclusion of names from both Hindu and Ismā'īlī traditions, a chain of figures was established that tied together the two traditions in a combination that accentuated the timeless and ageless nature of the doctrine of the remote and Supreme Divinity manifesting himself to all men at all time. As an interesting postscript to the theme of Divine Manifestation, the Mōman Chetvaṇi refers to the Four Revealed Books of the Islamic tradition and makes them analogous to the Four Vedas, the primary scriptures of Hinduism. All the various chords, however, merge and centre upon the single figu of the "Imām of the Time", the tenth avatāra.

Ivanow, in his discussion of the changes that took place in the post-Qiyāma doctrine suggests that the Nizārī works, by establishi the priority of the Imām and Imāma, made the Imām consubstantial with God bringing to a head "an originally popular idea or longing for the deification of the Imām".[77] Corbin, on the other hand, offers the explanation that since the Qiyāma established the supremacy of the application of ta'wīl as the key to the reformulated doctrine whose aim was not just to set aside positive religion, but to surpass it, the Imām as the figure whose function in Ismā'īlī doctrine was to apply the ta'wīl, became logically the dicisive figure within the new set of events. As a result of this reformulation, the Imām

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n183/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

instead of being the homologue of the Second Intelligence as in al-Kirmānī's system, became in fact "the Epiphany of the existentiating word. (kalima),the creative fiat (kun),of eternal existentiation (ibdā')".[78]

In this formulation, the role of the Prophets in relation to that of the Imām, as explained by the Imām Qā'im, Ḥasan 'alā dhikrihi al-Salām, who ushered in the Qiyāma, was a transitory one. The Imāms were conceived,in contrast, as "an eternal people".[79] In the Nizārī works and particularly the post-Alamūt doctrine, the Prophetic role becomes symbolized in the function of the ḥujja, who now in the system of correspondences becomes homologous to the First Intelligence, and is the gate (bāb) through which one can reach the knowledge (ma'rifa) of the Imām.[80]

As the post-Qiyāma doctrine has been transposed in the gināns, the Imām, as the tenth avatāra, retains the prior role as the epiphany of the pre-eternal Light which constitutes the original unity that came into being by an act of creation of the Supreme Being. The pīrs as the ḥujja of the Imāms are equated in the gināns with the Prophet Muḥammad, who,we recall, was made homologous to Brahamā,the Creative Principle in the original Hindu triad.[81] The change in the system of correspondence evident in the post-Qiyāma doctrine is, therefore, reflected in the gināns, where the Imām can only become knowable to his adherents through

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n184/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the ḥujja or the pīr.

As summed up in one of the Garbīs, the real meaning of achieving knowledge (ginān) is to grasp that the religion of the Right Way (Satpanth) has existed from pre-eternal times and is embodied in the figure of "Lord of the Time".[82] What exactly the path is and how one is to achieve the knowledge of the "Lord of the Time" with the help of the pīr constitutes the subject of the next and final theme in this section.

Satpanth and Ginān, the Way and the Gnosis

So far our consideration of the major themes in the gināns has led us to view the two basic motifs that have always dominated Ismā'īlī thought, the first emphasizing the element of seeking, inherent in the tale of the archetypal dā'ī, and the second illustrating the object of the quest, the epiphanic figure of the Imām. Our third theme dealing with the path that the seeker must tread puts the finishing touch, as it were, to the cycle which culminated with the quest and must end in the recognition of the Imām.

The element of seeking, of a personal quest in search for the truth, as evidenced in the analysis of the ginān narra-

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n185/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

tives, was a very common theme in Ismā'īlism. It occurs in Ismā'īlī works ranging from the early al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām and is echoed in the autobiography of the Fāṭimid dā'ī, al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, which culminated in a visit to the Imām.[83] The same motif occurs in the poetry of Nāṣir-i-Khusrav[84] from whence it found its way into post-Alamūt Nizārī works like the Safar-Nāma of Nizārī Quhistānī,[85] the Haft Bāb of Abū Isḥāq al-Quhistānī and the Kalām-i-Pīr of Khayr Khwāh Harātī.[87] In the gināns reference has already been made to the visits to the Imām undertaken by the pīrs, and in particular the highly mythologized account of Imām Shāh's odyssey in the Jannatpuri.

Such a search for the universal truth, which, according to Ismā'īlism, is only to be found with the Imām, is at another level a symbol of a more universal cosmic action, where the human soul (and its homologues in corresponding hierarchies) is seeking to escape from the shackles of earthly vulgarity, and return to al-'Aql al-Awwal (or the 'Aql-i-kull) and so reach the higher world.[88]

One of the functions of the avatāras, as illustrated in the Dasa Avatāra, is that they have come, throughout the ages, not only to fight the forces of evil but also to "save"[89] man from the shackles of the cycle of rebirth. The theme of the return of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n186/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

all multiplicity to its common origin in the Fāṭimid and Nizārī works is integrated by the gināns with the Hindu doctrine of the cycle of rebirth.[90] Satpanth is presented as the solution to escape from this cycle and to gain Paradise. The Satveṇji Vel offers some insight into the way in which Pīr Shams presented the doctrine of Satpanth as the True Way,[91] and we are fortunate that the concepts hinted at there are summed up in a short ginān attributed to Pīr Shams.[92] Below is offered a prose translation of the ginān which illustrates what can be described as the theme of interior religion symbolized by Satpanth:

The Creator (Khāliq) is in my heart and
in all else too; He has brought the
Eternal Universe into existence. 1

Listen to me you Mullās and Qāḍīs
Who created this Universe? 2

He brought the whole world into being
out of clay. Who in this world is a Hindu
and who a Musalmān? 3

The Hindu goes to the sixty eight
places of pilgrimage, while the
Muslim goes to the mosque. 4

Yet neither the Hindu nor the
Muslim knows my Lord, who
sits - Pure. 5

My mind is my prayer mat, Allāh is my Qāḍī
and my body is my mosque. 6

Within I pass my time in prayer
What can the vulgar and the ignorant
know of my Way? 7

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n187/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

I eat only when food is available,
or else I fast, remaining absorbed
in my Lord's remembrance. 8

The true believer (mu'min) is one
who is aware of all the mysteries.
Let knowledge ('ilm) guide your path 9

Only through complete concentration
can one achieve illumination
Seek hard and you shall find 10

Heed what PĪr Shams says,
how will you reach the shore
without a Guide (PĪr)? 11

The tone of this short ginān, a poem in eleven couplets, is one of exhortation; the advice and admonition inherent in the poem are heightened by the use of the first person, which strikes a very personal note. The ginān opens with an appeal to the listeners to consider the Omnipresence of the Creator. The terminology and images are in the Islamic tradition, indicating perhaps a mixed audience to which the ginān is being addressed. Together with the doctrine of Omnipresence is woven the basic mystical theme of the Divine Being residing within Man. The concern of the ginān is for a personal and responding Creator, immanent and accessible to his creatures. The refrain at the end of every verse, (Verily, it is Allāh), continues to reinforce the Islamic tone.

The next couplet is directed at the apparently "Knowledgeable" section of the audience, the Mullās and the Qāḍīs who

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n188/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

are, in a sense, the bulwarks of the formalized aspect of religious teaching. The rhetorical question is meant to emphasize, as the next two lines reveal, the unity of the Creation by the One Creator, Allāh; and again another question is posed as an antithesis to this unity by pinpointing the difference between creeds that Man creates for himself, in what should otherwise be by definition an homogenous creation.

The emphasis is then shifted to the way in which Man responds to his Creator. "The Hindus go to the sixty eight places of pilgrimage[93] while the Muslim repairs to the mosque". The couplet underlines the aimlessness of these formal acts of worship. Having pointed out the attitudes that are being criticized, the ginān then proceeds in the next two lines to hint at what it considers to be the object of a true seeker of God. The word shāh (Lord) is an important one in this context, for it implies in a general sense (without it being made explicit here) the concept of the Imām, to attain the true knowledge of whom, lies at the basis of the Ismā'īlī esoteric doctrine. The point is not further developed, but it is stated that the Shāh is Pure.[94]

The theme is then switched to reveal the particular esoteric aspects of the ginān, and here as always the emphasis falls upon the importance of the bāṭinī aspects of the acts of

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n189/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

worship. The pīr is presented as a typical self-abnegating mystic. The apt and succinct images convey the inner mode of mystical worship as against the two formal aspects of the ritual of prayer; the rug and the mosque are given a personalized, spiritual meaning and become symbols that are contrasted with the formal acts of worship. The symbolization presents the act of worship as a direct confrontation of the human with the divine, shorn completely of even its outward ritualistic aspects. In another longer ginān attributed to Pīr Shams called Śloka Vaḍō (or Śloka Mōṭō) the first verse states:[95]

> Worship the Divine within your heart
>
> for the heart is the door leading to God.
> He dwells within the heart and
> manifests Himself therein.

Such a theme of interior religion is heightened in the subsequent verse of our ginān. The seeker, as symbolized by the Pīr himself has totally committed himself to God, relying on Him to provide food, while the seeker remains so absorbed in His remembrance as to stop caring even if no food is available. Next, the true seeker (mu'min) is defined as one who is cognizant of all the mysteries (i.e. the bāṭin) and who performs his duties in the light of the knowledge ('ilm here should be taken to refer to an understanding of the ḥaqā'iq, in Ismā'īlī terms) that he has obtained. The emphasis in the ginān, as has already been

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n190/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

stated, is on a path which is not based on formal outward acts of worship, but which stems spontaneously from a process of direct intuitive experience which through "Illumination" brings about a new level of awareness. The awareness is seen as a continuing process and is further explicated in the next couplet. Such an awareness comes only through a total absorption of the seeker in concentrated meditation. Awareness, so to speak, springs from the state of having discovered the Divine within one's self.

Having thus traced the aim and nature of the seeker, in a gradual and well connected progression of ideas, the final touch is then applied. For this path, one needs a guide without whom it is not possible to traverse the vast ocean of struggle and land safely on the shore of true knowledge. The Pīr, through the medium of the ginān, has built up his ideas and presents himself finally as the one who can guide the seeker to his goal. We are back once again to the idea of the true teacher (Satgur) enunciated in the narratives. But such a teacher cannot be anyone but the pīr representing the true Imām. In a striking metaphor evoked in a second version of the Śloka called Śloka Nindhō (or Śloka Nānō), attributed to Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, one verse states:[96]

> The crane and the swan are distinct
> though both may appear to look alike.
> The crane eats whatsoever it finds,
> but the swan seeks only pearls.

and further in another verse mocking those who consider themselves

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n191/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

as true guides:

> The Master has a large bundle on his head
> and his disciple is carrying a burden as well.
> Both then proceed to cross the ocean in a
> boat made out of iron
> How can they ever reach the shore?[97]

In contrast the seeker is urged to:

> Build your boat in the name of the Lord
> and fill it with the load of truth.
> If the wind that blows is one of love and devotion
> then the Lord will certainly guide you ashore.[98]

A point that deserves mention here is the use of simple and evocative imagery from daily life and the immediate environment, fused with an idiomatic vernacular, that is so evident in the gināns. One of the features that certainly appealed to the early converts and adherents was this use of lively images, evoking pictures of the village life in the Sub-continent. Because the message of the gināns is couched in such direct and ready metaphors, the symbolism inherent in the gināns as a whole becomes simple to grasp if we consider the context of the audience to which they were presented.

The fact that the above gināns, like most others in the Tradition, are in essence as well as form, poetry, needs some further qualification in the context of our analysis. In order to appreciate the significance of poetic symbolism in the gināns, it is important to understand the relationship of religious or more specifically mystical experience to poetic communication in

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n192/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

general. Beginning from an act of experience which he desires to make known to others, the mystic "resorts to a language which is full of images, metaphors and symbols".[99] Though the questions which the mystic tries to answer are, in a sense, basic issues related to existence, the nature of the world, the purpose of life etc.; unlike theological or philosophical solutions, these questions in mystical poetry are not so much problems to be solved as mysteries to be lived. It is, therefore, not the rational faculty that is called upon to provide the answer, but an act of experience in which the totality of one's being is involved. The answer that comes forth is not a logical one nor does it appear in the form of an expository statement, but as stated above, it takes the shape of a symbol. The meaning of poetic symbols, and in particular those with anagogic significance, is not always easy to comprehend. First of all as we have noticed in the above gināns, these symbols are derived from a wide variety of phenomena of everyday life and action. Secondly such symbols in any one ginān, can reveal only isolated elements, since they are not concerned with providing a total structure. Thirdly such symbolism in differing contexts, as in the case of Ismā'īlism which found itself throughout its history in so many different lands and milieus, undergoes considerable historical change in forms. Hence, when we look at some of the mystical themes evoked in the gināns and find that they show a

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n193/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

marked similarity with motifs in both ṣūfism as well as the mysticism of the Bhakti movement.[100] This fact raises anew for us the problem of the different currents that have entered into the mystical ideas in the gināns. This fact also takes us further back to the problem of the precise relationship between Ismā'īlism and ṣūfism particularly with respect to post-Alamūt Nizārī Ismā'īlism.

We have already had occasion to refer to the process of interiorization and the movement towards a personal religion of salvation that was exemplified by the Qiyāma doctrine. Though, according to Corbin, "la coalescence de l'Ismaélisme et du soufisme, postérieurement à Alamūt, nous réfère au problème encore obscures des origines",[101] he is agreed with Ivanow that the skeleton of ṣūfic theosophy shows considerable similarity to the Ismā'īlī scheme of ḥaqā'iq.[102] In fact among the post-Alamūt texts that have survived there exists an anonymous Ismā'īlī commentary on the well known Persian treatise, Gulshan-i-Rāz of Maḥmūd Shabistarī.[103] Further, in the works of the Ismā'īlī poet Nizārī, who died about 1320, there is evident a camouflaging of Ismā'īlī ideas under the guise of ṣūfic expressions of a symbolic nature.[104] It is significant that his works are still studied as works representing standard ṣūfism without the awareness that the underlying

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n194/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

concepts are basically Ismā'īlī.[105]

Much later in the Ṣafavid period, we have instances of Nizārī Ismā'īlī Imāms affiliating themselves with the powerful ṣūfi orders of the time in Iran for the sake of taqīya,[106] and we also have the continuing trend of cautiously expressing Ismā'īlī ideas in a ṣūfic framework in the Dīwān of Khākī Khurāsānī who lived around the middle of the seventeenth century.[107] Hence the Nizārī da'wa, when it entered the Sub-continent, already carried within its repertoire a strain of mysticism rooted in Ismā'īlism but tinged with the ṣūfic terminology of the time. Moreover, in the new milieu it also encountered further currents of mysticism, namely the indigenous movements like the Bhakti tradition, as well as an already developing Muslim ṣūfī tradition. Hence when we study the mysticism of the gināns, we discover elements of all these currents of thought; in fact, they form the background and, as it were, the terrain for the development of mystical ideas in the gināns.

The function of the mythopoeic element in the gināns has already been sufficiently stressed in relation to a restructuring of the basic Ismā'īlī concepts of the archetypal dā'ī and the cycle of manifestation. In relation to the mystical element in the gināns, we need to formulate another concept to explain how the esoteric

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n195/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

symbolism is born or delivered. Such a concept is what we may best term, an act of Spiritual Imagination. In defining Imagination, one thinks primarily of the 'Ālam al-mithāl[108] of the ṣūfīs, that is, Imagination as that force in Man which reaches out towards the Beyond, and in a twilight state seeks to fuse the known with the unknown, the finite with the non-finite, the measurable with the immeasurable. At the poetic level, what is achieved is a synthesis of the material with the spiritual. Imagination tries to catch, hold, and blend these opposites together, seeking to suffuse the material with meaning, and to dress the spiritual with form, so that it can be said that the Spiritual Imagination is the prime reconciler of opposites.[109] Hence, in the gināns, one finds that far from shunning the evanescent and fitful quality of everyday life and yet transcends them by investing them with a symbolic meaning. The rich texture of symbolism in the gināns together with the music, form at once a source as well as a product of religious experience. In order therefore to study the nature of the mystical experience in the gināns one must pay special attention to their symbolic aspects.

So far the gināns that we have cited for this last theme have indicated the topography of the Way (Satpanth) with the primary emphasis on an interior religion that leads to illumination and knowledge of the Shāh (Imām). Such an illumination appears

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n196/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

in the gināns as an act of love and the joyous experience of the Nūr (Light), two symbols that dominate the nature of religious experience in the gināns:

> Let your devotion be directed to your Lord and Teacher
> so that you may feel His Presence.
> Purify yourself, so that there may be
>
> Light upon Light.
> Meditate on the Name of the Lord
> and let Light illuminate your being.
> Taste the nectar of love, and let
> joy fill your heart.[110]

And in one of the Garbīs:

> Meditate day and night and frequent the house of worship. 1
>
> Those who meditate on the Divine Form are (as if) imbued with nectar. 2
>
> Profound meditation on the Divine Form, ought to be such that it can never be broken. 3
>
> There is a perpetual music playing, feel it as it arises within 4
>
> When the Divine Form has pervaded your being, how can evil have any place there. 5
>
> So arrested (with the Form) is he, that he exhilarates in the Light.[111] 6

The concept of Nūr (Light) already constitutes a central motif in the gināns of cosmogony where, in fact, it stood as the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n197/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

primal cause out of which other creations came into being. The quest for the Imām now becomes actualized by following the path of interior religion which eventually leads to the religious experience within oneself of this Nūr-that is the source,which the individual soul, like everything else in Creation, must strive to reach.

Corbin has already attempted to illustrate the image of the Imām as Light in works of the Fāṭimid and post-Fāṭimid period, to elucidate the essential elements of what he calls, "the little known and scarcely studied form, of Shiite Ismailian Gnosis".[112] The nub of his argument is that the highly complex image of a "Pillar of Light" in Ismā'īlī Gnosis stands as the symbol of the Imāma, that is to say, the Imām is the "coalescence (majma') of all the souls of Light...".[113] He goes on further to call attention to the "power of this Pillar of Light whose prodigious magnetism reaches down to the last ranks of the initiatory sodality to raise them upward from degree to degree".[114] We are thus, almost back where the gināns left us with their images of the Light experienced within, through meditation on the Divine Form, i.e. the Form of Light that the Supreme Being brought into existence in the pre-eternal "drama in heaven". The vision of the Light within the Self is really an event that takes place in the soul of the individual. According to Pīr Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, "the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n198/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

knowledge of the heart is different from that of sight; it is pure luminescence, shining for itself. And neither have I the power to tell you more nor you the capacity to hear more".[115]

The tranquil brightness that results from this act of experience with the Nūr is summed up beautifully in a striking lyrical extension of the image of lights in the closing sections of a long ginān attributed to Nar Muḥammad Shāh and preserved in the Tradition:[116]

> From house to house murmurs of joy are to be heard
> for the maidens aresinging their songs
> Day and night, the lights are going up,
> in the heavens is enacted the festival of lights.
> The friend has at last met the Friend,
> the heart has now attained the bliss of union.

The few gināns that have been chosen to illustrate the mysticism of the gināns and the sketchy co-ordination of some of the motifs with prior Ismā'īlī works permits only an indication of a few bench marks in the mystical topography of the gināns. As intimated earlier, such fragments represent isolated elements but not the total structure of the ginān-mysticism. This for the moment, is a topic that must be postponed until a deeper acquaintance with many more such gināns has been achieved.[117] Nevertheless, it is hoped that the few bold strokes we have attempted will point to the method by which the religious experience reflected in the gināns can best be appreciated.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n199/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Our enquiry into the themes began with the narratives reflecting the idea of the archetypal dā'ī as the symbolic figure of Satgur Nūr, the true teacher of Light, and culminates in the experience within the Self of the mazhar, the epiphanic form of this Light. The circle has in a sense come to a close, and in retrospect we can appreciate how the various symbols we have chosen to characterize the themes show the close inter-relationship that exists in Ismā'īlī theosophy, and more particularly in the Tradition, between these themes. One of the characteristic implications of such a gnostic strain in Ismā'īlism is that one has to distinguish constantly in our themes, the symbols that indicate how metamorphoses have taken place in a given concept, and the original meaning of such symbols when borrowed from the society in which the da'wa is operating. Once the metamorphoses have been understood, then there is a lesser degree of temptation to brand the anagogic essence of such a Tradition, as "fantastic", and to try and make an an effort to "decontaminate" Ismā'īlism from such elements or to "rationalise" them away.[116] Rather we must learn to accept Ismā'īlism on its own terms, and only then can we do justice to the intellectual and spiritual presuppositions on which its doctrines are based.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n200/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

"Ismailism," in the words of Bernard Lewis, "evolved over a long period and a wide area, and meant different things at different times and places".[119] Nizārī Ismā'īlism, as it spread and developed on the Sub-continent, represents one such facet, and underlines further this growing realization about the nature of Ismā'īlism as a whole. Here by a way of a few concluding remarks the more important factors indicated by our study are reiterated, and a few questions are raised with regard to the methodological approach necessitated by a phenomenon such as the Tradition.

One aspect that demands a careful approach, is the heterogeneity of the Tradition. The terms generally used to categorize the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs in the context of Indo-Muslim history range from "syncretic" to "heterodox".[120] The question has also been asked whether they are "really anything but Hindus under a light Muslim veneer".[121] Ivanow tried to show that the Nizārī pīrs were trying to separate Islām from its Arabic shell, and in the process adopting familiar terms of Hinduism to explain their ideals.[122] Yet, well-founded as this explanation may be, it

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n201/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

still begs the question and implies some vague, unilateral concept of Islam or IsmĀ'Ilism as the standard being used to evaluate the validity of the Tradition as a related phenomenon. The field of Islamic Studies has still to rid itself of prejudice inherited from the works of Medieval Muslim heresiography, and terms such as "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy" continue to be bandied about indiscriminately.[123] One unfortunate result has been that "syncretism" has come to imply the existence of a pure form which has been devalued by accomodation to other values. A legalistic or fundamentalist way of looking at Islam is, of course, still evident among Muslims. Though such an interpretation of religion is quite possible, surely the time has come when the modern historiography of Islam needs to move away from such monolithic conceptions of Islam, and to treat on their own terms, interesting manifestations of change within Islam, as well as through interaction with those construed to be outside Islam.

The problem of syncretism raises in turn the question of "influences" in the Tradition. One of the points that has been constantly emphasized in the thesis is that IsmĀ'Ilī writers, from the earliest days of the movement, adopted a wholly ecumenical outlook in their methodology, and as a result, multiple motifs from many streams of thought are to be found in their works. Such a plurality and diversity of motifs, as we have noticed, is very

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n202/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

much in evidence in the gināns. There is considerable parallelism of thought with certain sects of Hinduismas well as ṣūfī ideas. This need not necessarily imply direct borrowing but merely emphasizes the interaction that was going on at the various levels of Indo-Muslim society. The problem of the exact relationship among the various strands of thought is a vexed issue, as is evident in the controversy surrounding the question of ṣūfī ideas having an alleged basis in Hindu ideas.[124] Conversely, there has also been much discussion concerning the influence of ṣūfism on the poets of the Bhakti movement.[125]

In the context of Ismā'īlism, as Corbin has pointed out, it would be superfluous to attempt merely to trace "influences" back to their so-called "origins".[126] The Ismā'īlī motivation which leads to the integration and reformulation of a Hindu, Neo-Platonic, or Manichaean motif, is first and foremost, a specifically Ismā'īlī motivation. The crucial point in trying to understand the Tradition and in trying to appreciate the nature of the Ismā'īlī response as a whole, is to grasp the specificity which pervades its typological sense of history, with its constant search for a millenium. The radically divergent approach to history demanded a response that differed from the"sharī'a-minded"[127] Sunni sense of history, where the theologians and jurists attempted to pose an answer to the problem of how Qur'ānic formulations,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n203/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

revealed in the time of the Prophet, could be eternally applicable and existent. Both had created paradoxical situations for themselves, and both must be granted equal validity in their desire to resolve the paradox within any given situation.

Of the Nizārī da'wa in India, viewed within the above compass, one thing can be said with reasonable certainty. As compared with the earlier Fāṭimid da'wa in India, it eventually took on a more subdued role politically and set aside any ambitions to create a Nizārī Ismā'īlī state. This quiescence can be related to the general period of pacifism through which Nizārī Ismā'īlism passed, after the fall of Alamūt in 1256. More than this perhaps, it also involved a recognition of the fact that in its previous attempts Ismā'īlism had been unable to reverse or overthrow the existing order entirely. In the face of this failure, the best way for the da'wa to survive was by isolating itself within the framework of the Indo-Muslim society and, by not drawing attention upon itself, to prevent the constant threat of persecution from materializing. Thus we find that the da'wa concentrated on perpetuating an Ismā'īlī ideology shaped to suit both the exigencies of the time and the society in which it worked.

These comments, in turn, bring us to a consideration of the figures who represented the Nizārī da'wa in India. Our analysis

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n204/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

of the traditions surrounding them has shown that the accounts reflect a concern more with the institution itself as the instrument for fulfilling the Ismā'īlī sense of history than with the individual persons concerned. The individuals, as a result, lend themselves to stereotyped descriptions. Nevertheless, what filters through shows the pīrs and sayyids to be truly remarkable personalities. The outlines that emerge portray highly committed figures in at times a hostile environment, striving to bridge the gap between two often widely contrasting faiths, restrained by circumstances from giving a free flow to the ideals they held, and yet working constantly to reshape and rechannel them in order to offer some meaningful experience to their converts. In practical religious terms, one of the most significant achievements of the da'wa must lie in its contribution to the spread of Islam in the Sub-continent.

The aspirations of the da'wa and the efforts of the pīrs are best reflected in the heritage they left behind, of which the most important constituent element is the ginān literature. Though the design of the thesis has been concerned with analyzing certain key themes in the gināns as a whole, this need not lead us to characterize the pīrs as mere representatives of the Tradition. On the contrary, it is difficult to conceive how such a Tradition could even have come into existence, had it not been for their

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n205/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

considerable personal contribution, which consisted in their discovery of their own personal experience that was eventually to become translated into the form of gināns. The emergence of the gināns and the themes reflected in them, no matter how dubious the question of their exact origin and development may be, still presuppose individuals aware of the existence of and acquainted with an already well-developed set of Ismā'īlī beliefs and furthermore, possessing a degree of intellectual and spiritual sensitivity necessary to blend these beliefs with those current in the Indo-Muslim society of the time.

Hence the gināns can be taken to represent one major development, not only in what we may term the "intellectual history"[128] of Ismā'īlism, but also a contribution to Indo-Muslim literature as a whole. It may be argued that not only do the Ismā'īlīs constitute a small segment within the great masses of Muslims on the Sub-continent, but also that their literature "lacks the Islamic personality"[129] that is presumably evident in other types of Indo-Muslim literature. The first observation, though true, raises the question of whether statistical considerations should determine the basis of our choice of a scholarly subject, no matter how deserving other fields of enquiry may be. The second begs the question raised earlier of the index being used to measure the "Islamic" character of a particular movement

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n206/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

or literature. It is fortunate that in the field of African Islam, modern scholarship has moved away from the old prejudices and developed a more positive attitude to the traditional literature among Muslims in Africa.[130] It is to be hoped that specialists in Indo-Muslim history and literature will borrow a leaf from the pages of the Africanist and give a proper place to the manifestations of Islam in the vernacular languages of the Muslims of the Sub-continent. Such manifestations, in any case, constitute much the largest proportion of the literature which the "ordinary" Muslims of the area know, and reflect more truly the "reality" of Islamic belief in the area. For instance, the poetry most often recited among Sindhi Muslims is not that of Amīr Khusrav, Ghālib or Iqbāl but rather that of Shāh ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, or other Sindhi poets which, with its folk-rhythms and imagery drawn from daily life, evokes a readier response among Sindhi-speaking Muslims.[131] Surely there is a need to move away from the rigid and narrow concepts that have plagued studies on the literature of the Muslim peoples and to redress the balance by giving an, at least, equal consideration to other forms of poetry. Part of the fault, in as far as the ginans are concerned, lies in the protective instincts of the Ismāʿīlīs who for so long kept their literature secret; but now

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n207/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

that it is becoming more readily available, it is hoped that it will receive its due and just share of attention.

One further interesting level of significance, which owing to the paucity of our materials does not admit of detailed analysis, is the appeal of the Nizārī da'wa to the artisan and peasant castes within the strata of Indo-Muslim society. Here the da'wa stood on common ground with many of the ṣūfī silsilas and indigenous movements like the Bhakti movement, all of which mirror an important social significance. In the case of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs we have already noted the tendency to create economic units held together by a common set of ideals. Wherever it went, the Ismā'īlī da'wa had always sought from the beginning to draw to itself adherents from many strata of society, but in particular it always mobilized greater support among the merchants and the peasants.[132] It is obvious that much more material will have to come to light before we can decide how significant the social and economic elements were in Ismā'īlism as a whole and in the Nizārī community in India in particular. It is noteworthy, however, that one of the forms of resurgence in modern times among the Nizārī Ismā'īlī descendants of the early converts on the Sub-continent, has been in the economic and social fields.[133]

In a final analysis of the Tradition, one unqualified

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n208/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

generalization can be made. The history of the da'wa and the development of the ginans represented amidst the fluctuating fortunes of Ismā'īlism a regeneration of its religious message in a conscious attempt to work towards maintaining a continual flow of religious activity, not tied to any political ambition but adapting and recreating its faith, surviving and succeeding in a limited measure, by the very fact that its nature was fluid enough to accomodate a change of circumstance.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n209/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

APPENDICES

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n210/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

APPENDIX I

1 - List of Pīrs in the Tradition

The list of names that follows is based on the oldest copied lists available in the Khōjkī manuscripts. There are two lists in Catalogue, MS.25, one (List A) dated S.1813 (1756) starting on fol299. The second (List B) appears earlier, it is on fol.295; the earliest date in the manuscript is S.1793 (1736). Since the list that follows is brought up to the time of Āghā Shāh Ḥasan ʿAlī (Āghā Khān I), I have also used the list (List C) in MS.59 which is given there as part of the Duʿā, the text begins on fol.12 where the date S.1893 appears In addition I have also used, for the purposes of comparison, the genealogy of Imām Shāh given in Khātima Mirʾāt-i-Aḥmadī, 123, and the list of pīrs or ḥujjas preserved among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in Iran. This last list (List D) is to be found in Ivanow, Ismailitica,66-67. Variations are cited in parentheses, though I have corrected several errors and "Khōjkī-izations" in the given lists.

1 Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (List B gives the names of the Prophet, those of his four ancestors, ʿAbd al-Manāf, Hāshim, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and ʿAbd Allāh)

2 Ḥasan

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n211/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

3 Qāsim

4 Aḥmad

5 Satgur Nūr

6 Imām al-Dīn (List B gives four names between Qāsim and Imām al-Dīn: Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Ja'far al-Sādiq, Ismā'īl and Nūr Muḥammad - in the Khitimā this appears as Nūr al-Dīn. List C has Ja'far al-Sādiq, Aḥmad and Satgur Nūr and List D Ja'far Shāh, Zayn al-'Ābidīn, Aḥmad and Sayyid Kunūr, the latter is probably a mistake for Satgur Nūr).

7 Muḥammad Manṣur

8 Ghālib al-Dīn

9 'Abd al-Majīd

10 Mustanṣir bī Allāh (List B has Muṣṭafa, probably a scribal error)

11 Aḥmad Hādī

12 Hāshim

13 Muḥammad

14 Maḥmūd

15 Muḥibb al-Dīn

16 Khāliq al-Dīn

17 'Abd al-Mu'min

18 Islām al-Dīn

19 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (List B has two names, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as well as Pīr Ṣāliḥ)

20 Shams al-Dīn

21 Nāṣir al-Dīn

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n212/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

22 Ṣāḥib al-Dīn

23 Ṣadr al-Dīn

24 Kabīr al-Dīn

25 Tāj al-Dīn

26 Pandiyāt-i-Jawānmardī.

27 Ḥaydar (In List B the name Dādū occurs after Pandiyāt)

28 'Alā' al-Dīn (not in List B)

29 Qāsim (not in List B)

30 Nāṣir Muḥammad (not in List B)

31 Dādū (not in List D)

32 Aghā Bābā Hāshim

33 Muḥammad-i-Zamān

34 Aghā 'Azīz

35 Mahar Beg

36 Aghā Akbar Beg

37 'Alī Asghar Beg (Lists A and B end here)

38 Mīrzā Shāh Ḥasan 'Alī (From here the sequence is according to List C. List D has the same names but the sequence differs slightly)

39 Mīrzā Shāh Qāsim 'Alī

40 Mīrzā Shāh Abū Ḥasan 'Alī

41 Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir

42 Bībī Sarkār

43 Shāh Ḥasan 'Alī

44 Aghā 'Alī Shāh

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n213/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

ii- List of Imāms

Since the names of Ismā'īlī Imāms from 'Alī through to the Nizārī Imāms of the Alamūt period are well known, (See the table in Hodgson, Order, facing p.160, and Ivanow, Evolution of Ismailism, Appendix II,78-80), I give here a list of the Imāms of the post-Alamūt period up to the time of the transfer of the Imāma to India. The list is culled on the basis of Abū Isḥāq, Haft-Bāb,24,tr.24; Khayr Khwāh, Kalām-i-Pīr, 51-52,tr.44-45; Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyya,42-43; the many lists in the Khōjkī manuscripts (including MS.25, fol.190 and MS.59, fol.12); a poem eulogizing the Nizārī Imāms, preserved in Iran (found in Semenov, Ismailitskaya,9-13), and inscriptional and other data about the Imāms referred to in the thesis.

1 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad

2 'Alā' al-Dīn Mu'min Shāh (This name drops out in the modern works, see for instance the list of Imāms in Ivanow, Ismailitica, 68-69 and the list in Du'ā,35-38). It also does not appear in Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyya.

3 'Alā' al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn Qāsim Shāh (or simply Qāsim Shāh)

4 Qāsim Shāh b. Qāsim Shāh (This name occurs only in Haft-Bāb and Kalām-i-Pīr)

5 'Imād al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn Salām Shāh (called Islām Shāh in the Khōjkī manuscripts)

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n214/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

6 Salām Shāh b. Salām Shāh (Muḥammad b. Islām Shāh in the manuscripts)

7 Mustanṣir bī Allāh II (i.e. in the context of the complete genealogy of Ismā'īlī Imāms where al-Mustanṣir, the Fāṭimid Caliph would be the First)

8 'Imād al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn Islām Shāh (also called 'Abd al-Salām in the manuscripts and inscriptions, see Ivanow, Tombs,54)

9 Gharīb Mīrzā (in Haft-Bāb where he is cited as the "Imām of the time" he is also called al-Mustanṣir, so he would be Mustanṣir bī Allāh III in the entire genealogy)

10 Abū Dharr 'Alī

11 Murād Mīrzā

12 Dhū-al-Faqār 'Alī (also called Khalīl al-Allāh I, see Ivanow, Tombs,56)

13 Nūr al-Dahr 'Alī (also called Nūr al-Dahr Khalīl al-Allāh)

14 Khalīl al-Allāh II (see Ivanow, Tombs,55-56)

15 Shāh Nizār

16 Sayyid Abū Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh (or simply Sayyid 'Alī in Semenov, 12 and in some of the manuscripts)

17 Qāsim Shāh (not in Kalām-i-Pīr)

18 Abū Ḥasan 'Alī (also called Āqā Sayyid Ḥasan Beg in Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyya,43)

19 Khalīl Allāh III (between the previous Imām and Khalīl Allāh III, Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyya,43, has two more names, Muḥammad Ja'far Shāh and Mīrzā Bāqir 'Alī Shāh. The list in Kalām-i-Pīr ends with Khalīl Allāh III whom the copyist calls the Qā'im of the present time)

20 Shāh Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh (Āghā Khān I)

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n215/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

APPENDIX II

Bibliographical Notes on gināns used in the Thesis

In addition to the brief annotations to the various gināns provided in Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, there are listed below a few additional notes that I have gathered on some of the gināns used in this thesis. Wherever such gināns can be traced in the Catalogue of Khōjkī Manuscripts, the oldest copied texts are indicated. Since Miss Zwahir Nooraly of the Ismailia Association of Pakistan is in the process of compiling a fully annotated catalogue of ginān manuscripts, no attempt is made here to give a detailed or comprehensive synopsis of the individual gināns.

1. Anaṅt Akhāḍō attributed to Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn and consisting of 500 verses in quatrains with a common refrain at the end of every verse. The oldest copy is in MS.48, fols.150-189, dated S.1858 (1801). The title is probably taken from a myth in Hinduism where Vishṇu uses a serpent called Śesa as a couch or canopy whilst sleeping during the intervals of creation. The name Anaṅt came to be applied to both Vishṇu as well as the serpent, see Dowson, "Sesha", Dictionary, 291-292.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n216/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

The title of the ginān literally means "The Arena of Anaṅt", and as a whole the ginān contains multiple motifs, of exhortation to the believers, praise and devotion to the Imām and a sort of "Pilgrim's Progress" in a ṣūfic vein describing the first visit of the pīr to the Imām.

2. Buddha Avatāra attributed to PĪr Ṣadr al-DIn, and consisting of 522 verses in couplets. The oldest copy is in the MS.68, fols.165-181. The dates S.1857 (1800) and S.1858 (1801) appear between fols.95 and 287 of the manuscript, so the text of the Buddha Avatāra was presumably completed during this period. MS.25, fol.66 where the date S.1793 (1736) appears contains a brief portion of the Buddha Avatāra. In the context of the Tradition the most important significance of this ginān is that the accounts from Hindu mythology are integrated to lead up to the foretelling of the coming tenth avatāra in the form of 'Alī and his descendants.

3. Chandrabhāṇ and Vel, attributed to PĪr Shams who is said to have composed the ginān in dedication to the efforts of one of his disciples, Chandrabhāṇ. The ginān contains 47 verses, in quatrains, with a refrain and the oldest copy

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n217/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

is in MS.59, fols.129-153, dated S.1849 (1792). The ginān as a whole is in a mystical vein, with the Pīr illustrating his message by citing the examples of the sacrifices and services made in the path, by his disciple Chandrabhān. The Vel does not occur together with this old copy but is found in MSS.60, fols.227ff. dated S.1944 (1887) and 77, fols.113-120 (no date), but which from the list of Imāms cited, was copied during the Imāma of Ḥasan ʻAlī Shāh, so it is older than the former manuscript. The Vel has 12 verses and dwells on the theme of Chandrabhān's discipleship to Pīr Shams.

4. Çhatrisa Krōr (i.e. Thirty six Krores), attributed to Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, consisting of 180 verses. Oldest copy is in MS.44, fols.96-114, on fol.124 of the manuscript, the date S.1897 (1840) appears.

The main theme of the ginān is illustrated through a "journey" undertaken by the Pīr together with thirty six krores of his followers (each jamāʻat with its Mukhi, whose names are also given). The "journey" is to the residence of the Imām. The standard Ismāʻīlī theme underlying the descriptive and mythologized account of the journey is that of the return of the worshipper, through the teaching of the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n218/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

pīr, to a recognition of the Imām of the time.

5. Dasa Avatāra. There are three separate versions of this ginān, one attributed to Pīr Shams, which is the smallest of the three and in fairly archaic Sindhi which may well merit a comparison with the earliest forms of preserved Sindhi texts. This version is to be found in an apparently unique copy in MS.25, fols.230-233.

The second version, larger than the first is attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn and the oldest copy is also to be found in MS.25, fols.57-66. The section relating to the tenth avatāra has been translated by Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 112-115.

The third and largest version is that attributed to Imām Shāh, also to be found in MS.25, fols.138-171.

The Dasa Avatāra as discussed in the thesis is a key ginān in the Tradition and reflects best the fusion of the concepts of Divine Epiphany in Ismā'īlism and Vaishaṇavism.

6. Garbīs, twenty eight in all, attributed to Pīr Shams. The full set appears in MS.81, fols. 1-42, dated S.1951 (1894). However, older texts of a number of Garbīs will be found in MS.74, fols.436-438. The manuscript, though not dated, contains a colophon stating that it has been copied from the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n219/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

manuscript of Ghulām Haydar Shāh. MS.48, fol.512 dated S.1859 (1802), has a note to the effect that the manuscript belongs to Ghulām Haydar Shāh in which case it might well be the one from which the copy in MS.74 has been made. The whole set has been translated by Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 55-85 and Ivanow has a note on the Garbīs in Satpanth, 44-45.

7. Gāyatrī, there are two versions that go under this name, which are used in the thesis. One attributed to Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn and also called Brahma Gāyatrī (or Gāvantri Nandhi) of which a partial version is preserved in MS.25, fols.302-305. Another copy appears in MS.38, fols.57-60. An amplified version called Gāyantri Vadi (or Mur Gāyatrī) attributed to Imām Shah also occurs in a partial text in MS.25, fols.183-190. A fuller copy is to be found in MS.68, fols.345-376 and dated S.1858 (1801).

All the version deal with Cosmogony and the origin of the Universe by the command of the One Supreme Being. There is an emphasis on the concept of Tej (Nūr or Light) in the integration of Hindu myths of creation. The Mur Gāyatrī goes into detail about the ages before the onset of the Yugas and traces all the manifestations of Divinity as they appear

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n220/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

in Hindu tradition in all the ages. The accounts are brought up to the time of the Ismā'īlī Imāms and the gināns end with a list of the Imāms.

In Hinduism, Gāyatrī is considered a most sacred verse of the Rig Veda which came to be regarded as a mystic formula of universal power and a key to divine knowledge, see Walker, "Gāyatrī", Hindu World, 384-385. The use of the term in the above gināns indicates the importance of the cosmogonic myths in the gināns as a key to understanding their significance in the Tradition.

8. Jannatpuri, or the "City of Paradise", attributed to Imām Shāh. In the manuscripts there are actually two separate gināns attributed to Imām Shāh which, though they have almost the same content, have somehow survived in separate version. The second version is called Janāze jō Ginān (the ginān of the funeral bier). The oldest copy of the Jannatpuri, is to be found in MS.70 (no numbering) consisting of 158 verses and dated S.1904-1905 (1847-1848). There the ginān is also called Janāze jō Ginān. The Jannatpuri has been translated in Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 122-137 (from a printed version which has 154 verse), and its content has already been discussed in the thesis.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n221/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

9. Mansamjāmṇi Vaḍi; the ginān is not to be found present in manuscript form and I am grateful to Dr. Akbar Ladak of Karachi for drawing my attention to a printed version (Bombay: 1916), consisting of a total number of 401 parts which in turn have twenty verses each. It is attributed to Pīr Shams and contains information relating to his preaching and setting up of jamā'at-khānas, etc. The lack of a manuscript version may indicate a fairly recent date of composition but the ginān may well merit a close study for any historical data it can provide. As indicated by the title, the ginān is a form of exhortation for the purpose of edifying the devotee's mind.

10. Mōman Chetāmaṇi, "A Caution for the Faithful", attributed to Imām Shāh and if its common recurrence in the manuscripts is any indication, a popular ginān within the Tradition. Among the many copies the oldest is probably the one in the undated MS.74 (see however the note on Garbīs), fols.113-171 and consisting of other gināns (with a variation on Chetāmaṇi, that sometimes becomes Chetvaṇi or Chetvarṇi, all implying the sense of 'Caution", see no.11 below) and leads to some confusion. The content of this particular ginān is generally of an ethical nature and a number of stories of the Prophets such as Mūsā, from the Qur'ān, are incorporated.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n222/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

11. Mōman Chetvarṇi, attributed to PĪr Ṣadr al-DĪn, but another version under the same name also exists and is attributed to Imām Shāh. The Mōman Chetvarṇi of PĪr Ṣadr al-DĪn is preserved in MS.74, fols.341-401, consisting of 484 verses. The gināns begins by tracing the doctrine of cosmogony and then in mythopoeic fashion examines the cosmogonic myths related to Vishṇu and other gods of the Hindu theogony bringing the account to a climax by integrating it with the Ismā'Īlī cosmogony. The ginān also discusses how the Hindus and Muslims came to believe in separate books and shows how in reality the Revelations to both groups were one in essence.

12. Putṛa (Idols), a ginān that describes the coming of Satgur NŪr to India and the miracles he performs in a temple that eventually lead to the conversion of the great Siddharāja. It is found in MS.59, fols.38-67 and dated S.1848 (1791) where it is also called Ginān Satgur NŪr, with 229 verses. A synopsis of the accounts is provided in the thesis.

13. Satgur NŪr nā Vivā (The Marriage of Satgur NŪr),

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n223/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

attributed to Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn. Also to be found in MS.59, fols.160-166. I have integrated the account in this ginān with the synopsis of the story in Putṛa The closing folios of MS.59 indicate a later date of copying than S.1848-49 (1791-92) which appears in the earlier folios (to fol. 153) so possibly the ginān may have been copied later than 1792.

14. Satveṇi, a title that in the Tradition is used for a number of gināns (see nos.15 and 16 below). This version of which there are a number of copies in the manuscripts, appears in MS.32, fols.1-223, where it is also called Satveṇi Vaḍi.

It is attributed to Nar Muḥammad Shāh and consists of verses dealing with the nature of religious experience, citing examples of how prophets like Ayyūb and Ibrāhim and Muḥammad suffered poverty in the path of the love of God.

15. Satvarṇi Vaḍi, to be distinguished from the one above. Though I have had to use an undated printed version, I was able to consult a manuscript copy in the possession of Al-Waez Abdul Mawji, in Dar-es-Salaam. It is, however, a recent text, dated S.1954 (1897). The ginān has 316 parts

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n224/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and is really a versified history of the coming of Nizārī Ismā'īlism to the Sub-continent. It begins with Satgur Nūr and is brought up to the time of Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh (i.e. Nar Muḥammad Shāh) who is apparently the author since he speaks of himself as having come to live in Ahmedabad, (vs.306). In the closing verses (301ff.) the claim is also put forward that Imām Shāh was really an Imām. All this is apparently to substantiate Nar Muḥammad Shāh's own claims to be the Imām and to justify his secession from the main da'wa. The ginān was probably composed with the same aim in mind. In vs.305 an elaboration of these claims is promised by way of an addition to this ginān (a Vel). Such an appendix is probably another ginān called Satveṇiji Vel, also attributed to Nar Muḥammad Shāh (see below; no.16).

16. Satveṇiji Vel, an appendix to Satvarṇi Vaḍi, attributed to Nar Muḥammad Shāh. A version exists in a late manuscript, MS.22 which is wholly devoted to this ginān of 200 verse and consists of 207 folios. It is dated S.1954 (1897). A printed version (Bombay: 1906) consists of only 150 verses apparently excluding the fifty verses in the other version which deal with Nar Muḥammad Shāh's own claim to the Imāma. It is hoped that an earlier manuscript will come to light

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n225/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

to permit a comparison of the surviving versions and enable a study of interpolations that have taken place. Together with the Satvaṛṇi Vaḍi, this ginān is one of the few ones that aim at writing the history of the da'wa and is, therefore, important for analyzing the self-image of the Tradition concerning its own history, and also reflects the issues that led to a schism within the da'wa.

17. Śloka; there are two versions, one called Śloka Vaḍō (or Śloka Mōṭō) and another entitled Śloka Naṇḍhō (or Śloka Nānō).

Śloka Vaḍō is attributed to Pīr Shams, and consists of 240 verses. It occurs in several manuscripts of which the oldest text appears in MS.70 (not numbered) and dated S.1904 (1847).

Śloka Naṇḍhō is attributed to Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and like the longer version exists in many manuscripts. The oldest copy is in MS.48, dated S.1858 (1801) and consists of 120 verses.

Both gināns are in the form of advices to the devotee with illustration in the path of achieving true knowledge of Satpanth or the True Path.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n226/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

18. Surbhāṇ and Vel, attributed to Pīr Shams, a ginān he apparently composed as a tribute to his second devoted disciple, Surbhāṇ. It reiterates the themes already emphasized in Chadrabhāṇ.

The oldest text of the Surbhāṇ is to be found in MS.68, fols.278-287, and dated S.1858 (1801). It consists of 50 verses. The Vel of 12 verses occurs separately in a later manuscript, MS.60, fols.366-370, and dated S.1944 (1887).

19. I have also used a number of short gināns in the thesis where the translation or reference to the cited text is given.

One general point that can be made about the short gināns is that they are mainly devotional or exhortative in nature. In general it is these shorter gināns that continue to be recited in jamā'at-khānas, at present. Some of them are traditionally recited on specific occasions such as the ceremony of ghaṭ-pāṭ, the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad, or other commemorative occasions like 'Id, Navrūz, etc.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n227/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

NOTES

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n228/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

[1] For the issues involved and the subsequent judgement in the Case, see A.A. Fyzee, Cases in the Muhammad Law of India and Pakistan (Oxford: 1965), 504-549.

[2] The word Khōjā is, strictly speaking, the name of a caste. At present there are not only Shī'a Ismā'īlī Khōjās, but also Ithnā 'Asharī and Sunni Khōjās too. In the Ismā'īlī community's tradition, the term is derived from the Persian Khwāja, meaning Lord or Master, an honorific title given to the converts by one of their dā'īs, Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn. The Ismā'īlī Khōjās, it must be noted, form only one section of the adherents to that faith in India, but general usage made it a blanket term for all the followers of the Āghā Khān.

Jaffer Rahimtulla, Khōjā Kōmnō Itihās (Bombay: 1905), 1-19, has an interesting discussion on who the Khōjās actually were. See also the article "Khodja", SEI (Leiden: 1961), 256.

[3] Properly Agā Khān, a title given originally to Imām Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh by Fatḥ 'alī Shāh Qājār of Iran. See H.A.R. Gibb "Agha Khān", EI 2, I, 246.

[4] Fyzee, Cases, 545.

[5] As instanced by an address delivered by one of the counsels for the defence. See The Shī'a School of Islam and its branches, especially that of the Imamee Ismailies, a speech delivered by E.I. Howard Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, in the Bombay High Court in June 1866 (Bombay: 1895).

[6] For a study of this development, see M.G.S. Hodgson, The Order of Assassins (The Hague: 1955), 22-33 and Bernard Lewis, The Assassins (London: 1967), 1-191

[7] See E. Tyan, "Da'wa", EI 2, II, 168-172, and M.G. Hodgson, "Dā'ī", EI 2, II, 98, for a definition, and general discussion on the role of this institution in Islamic history.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n229/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[8] For the role of the da'wa in the establishment of the Fāṭimid state in North Africa, see W.Ivanow, The Rise of the Fatimids (Calcutta: 1942), 27ff. A discussion of one other area of activity of the da'wa in the earlier period will be found in S. Stern, "The early Ismā'īlī missionaries in North West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxania", BSOAS, XXIII (1960), 56-90. For the functions of the institution in Fāṭimid times, see W.Ivanow, "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", JBBRAS, XV (1939), 1-35; M. Canard "L'imperialisme des Fatimides et leur propaganda", AIEO, 6 (1942-47), 156-193; Husain al-Hamdani, "The History of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat and its Literature during the last phase of the Fatimid Empire", JRAS (1932), 126-136. The primary source for the earlier phase, Qādī al-Nu'mān's Risāla Iftitāḥ al-da'wa, ed. Wadad al-Qadi (Beirut: 1970) has now been edited and published. A discussion of Fāṭimid ideas of polity will be found in P. Vatikiotis, The Fatimid Theory of State (Lahore: 1957).

[9] See M. Canard, "Fāṭimids", EI 2, II, 850-862 for a summary outline. A more thorough, well-documented study of the rise and development of the Fāṭimid state, utilizing many still unedited sources, is Zāhid 'Alī's Tā'rīkh-i-Fāṭimiyyīn-i-Miṣr (Hyderabad: 1948), particularly Chapters 8 and 9. See also Abbas Hamdani, The Fatimids (Karachi: 1962).

[10] For the background to the schism, see Hodgson, Order, 62-69; and al-Hidāyatu'l Āmirīya, ed. A.A.A. Fyzee (London: 1938), Introduction, 1-16; and S. Stern "The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya); its date and its purpose", JRAS (1950), 20-31.

[11] Besides Hodgson's Order, see also his articles, "The Ismā'īlī State" in The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.5, ed. J.A. Boyle, 422-482; "Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ", EI 2, III, 253-254; "Alamūt", EI 2, I, 352-354.

[12] The combination of Hind and Sind is preferred in the title, to emphasize the use of these terms as exemplified in the works of Medieval Muslim Geographers to define the area under consideration. See S. Maqbul Ahmad, et al, "Hind", EI 2,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n230/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

III, 404-405. However, to avert monotony in the text, the terms "Sub-continent" and "India" are also used interchangeably.

[13]al-Nu'mān, Iftitāḥ, 45.

[14]S. Stern, "Ismā'īlī propaganda and Fatimid rule in Sind", IC, XXIII (1949), 304-307; and Abbas Hamdani, The Beginnings of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa in Northern India (Cairo: 1956), both base their studies on original Fāṭimid sources.

[15]Among some of the partial and inadequate studies are the two articles of W. Ivanow, "The sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat", JBBRAS (1936), 19-70, and "Satpanth" in Collectanea, I (Leiden: 1948), 1-54. N.Hollister, Shi'a of India (London: 1953), attempts to provide an outline survey, 339-363. An earlier attempt is Syed Mujtaba Ali, The Origin of the Khōjas and their Religious Life Today (Bonn: 1936). A more recent work, incorporating some material on the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs is S.C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat (London: 1964). Perfunctory references are found in most secondary works dealing with Indo-Muslim history.

[16]See B. Walker, "Knowledge" in The Hindu World, an Encyclaedic Survey of Hinduism (New York: 1968), I, 555. A. Bharti, The Tantric Tradition (London: 1965), 16, prefers to define it as "analytical appreciative understanding".

[17]A bibliographical work in Gujarati, Lalji Devraj, ed., Tapsil Book (2nd ed., Bombay: 1915), lists the ginans published.

[18]W.Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, A Bibliographic Survey (2nd ed., Tehran: 1963), 176-181.

[19]Ibid., 11-12.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n231/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[20]Most of these are now in the possession of the Ismailia Association of Pakistan, in Karachi where a preliminary catalogue has been prepared by Zwahir Noorally. She was kind enough to lend me a manuscript copy and all references to the ginān manuscripts will be to her Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of the Ismailia Association for Pakistan, a Preliminary Survey (Karachi: 1971). When other manuscripts are still in private collections, this has been indicated.

[21]G.A. Allana, The Arabic Element in Sindhi (M.A. thesis submitted to the University of London, 1963), 39.

[22]Ibn Hawqal, Kitab Ṣurāt al-Arḍ (Beirut: 1963), 280.

[23]al-Bīrūnī, Kitāb al-Hind, ed. and tr. as Alberuni's India by E. Sachau (London: 1887-88), 82, tr. 173; and A. Dani, Indian Paleography (Oxford: 1963), 112.

[24]'Alī Kūfī, ed., Chachnāma (Hyderabad: 1954), 79, 156.

[25]F.A. Khan, Bhanbore (Karachi: 1969), 16. The inscription is found on the illustration (2) of the potsherd.

[26]Dr.G. Allana of Sind University believes that the letters are very akin to Khōjkī ones. One of the words refers to a spice and it is significant that the practice of storing spices in jars which are then labelled by hand, survives to the present in Sind.

[27]These are based on the manuscripts as well as a Khōjkī Primer (Bombay: n.d.). I must acknowledge here my gratitude to Al-Waez Alijah Hasham Moledina of Karachi for his assistance. He is preparing a new Primer at the moment. A table based on a phonetic scheme will be found in Allana, Sindhi, 40-41.

[28]Catalogue, Appendix 5 where the places are listed.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n232/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[29]This claim is based on reference to a verse in a ginān attributed to Pīr Tāj al-Dīn. I was able to locate it in the manuscripts, Catalogue, MS 31, fol.59, v.3 of the ginān.

[30]Some of the ideas are devloped in History of Literature and Culture of Lower Sind (Ph.D. thesis, English title, submitted to Sind University, Hyderabad, Pakistan, 1971).

[31]See below, 135.

[32]For these figures, I am grateful to Al-Waez Alibhai Nanji of Hyderabad who was 85 years old when I saw him and who during his service to the community, had compiled a full list of gināns and their authors. Ivanow, it must be noted, only lists the longer compositions.

[33]Catalogue, MS.25. The date appears on fols.47, 66 and 138.

[34]Catalogue, MSS. 68 and 59.

On fol.287 of MS. 68, the scribe states that he is copying from the manuscript of Jagan Mōmnanī, who in turn had it copied by Master Jumlanī from the manuscript of Raju Gulmanī.

On fol. 78 of MS. 59, the copyist writes that he is making additions to the manuscript of Aadū Dōsanī, and a progression of dates from S.1848 (1791) to S.1895 (1838) is indicated.

On fol. 32 of MS. 38, the copyist refers to an earlier manuscript from which he is copying but gives no date.

MS. 74 contains no dates, however, however the copyist refers on fol.1 to a manuscript of Pīr Ghulām Haydar Shāh from which he is copying. In the collection of Vizier G. Allana of Karachi there is a manuscript dated 1257A.H. (1841) on fol.1 and on fol.131 there occurs a seal of Pīr Ghulām Haydar Shāh. Since on fol.133 there is another date, S.1864 (1807); it would appear that this Pīr Ghulām or his descendants had in their possesion ginān manuscripts from which other copies were made. I could obtain no information whatsoever on Pīr Ghulām.

[35]Al-Waez Abu Ali Alibhai of Dar-es-Salam, who gave

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n233/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

me this information also said that his grandfather had been among those entrusted with the task.

[36] Ivanow, Satpanth, 40. Vizier Ismā'īl Ja'far, now living in Nairobi, who had been in charge of the Ismailia Association in Bombay in the 1930s also confirmed that such inexplicable things had been done.

[37] Catalogue, MS.38.

[38] Ibid., fol.10.

[39] Ibid., fol.129 where the copyist makes reference to a local Ismā'īlī's return home after having visited the Imām in Iran.

In MS.70, the folios are not numbered, there is a record of the visit of a religious dignitary from Iran, Pīr Salāmat, who had come from the Imām to convey a message.

MS.96, fol.31 has a note on the death of Āghā Khān I, the information being received by the copyist at the time he was making the copy.

[40] "Haji Bibi v The Aga Khan", (1909),XI, Bombay Law Reporter,409-495; part of which has been published as Evidence taken on behalf of the First Defendant in the High Court of Judicature at Bombay, Suit No.729 of 1905 (Bombay: 1908), 242. For the background to the Case, see A. Chunara, Noorum Mubin (i.e. Nūr al-Mubīn) (3rd ed., Bombay: 1951), 477-479. The name of the witness was Mr.Jumābhāi.

[41] Catalogue, MSS.21,38 and 96 where his name occurs.

[42] For the history of this group, see Ivanow, Imam Shah, 28ff.

[43] Most of the ginans preserved will be found in

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n234/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Narayanji Contractor, Pīraṇa Satpanth ni Pōl (Ahmedabad: 1926), 152 paasim. See also Sayyed K. Durveshali, Satpanth Shāstra (Godbkampavala: 1954), 1-47.

[44]These gināns are preserved in two manuscripts in Gujarati letters with Kaka Shivji Ramji, the present overseer of the shrines in Pirana, to whom I am grateful for allowing me to consult them.

[45]For this figure and his followers, see Misra, Muslim Communities, 62-65. The list of his works will be found on 63-64. I regret that time permitted me to see and check only a few specimen. The mode of singing is, however, the same as the gināns, but beyond that only a detailed survey can lead to definite conclusions.

[46]Catalogue, MS.74,fol.487,vs.1 of the ginān called Mūrbandhjō Achōrō.

[47]Rahimtulla, Itihās, 16 enumerates the common features.

[48]J.N. Bhattacarya, Hindu Castes and Sects (Calcutta: 1896),447 defines the Bhatias as a trading caste found chiefly in Sind.

For a reference to the traditional bardic role of the caste, see C. Von Furer Hamendorf, "The Historical Value of Indian Bardic Literature", Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, ed. C. Phillips (London: 1961),88.

Dr.G. Allana believes that the present Nizārī Ismā'īlīs of Sind were most certainly converted from among the Bhatia Caste, some of whom played the role of preserving and transmitting the gināns.

[49]Already a classic in the field of comparative oral poetry,is A. Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge, Mass.: 1960). See also R. Culley, "An approach to the problem of Oral Tradition", Vetus Testamentum,XIII,no.2 (1963),113-125 and G.S. Kirk, "Homer and modern oral poetry" in The Language and Background of Homer, ed. G.S. Kirk (Cambridge: 1964),79-89, where he critically assesses some of Lord's conclusions.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n235/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[50]See S.H. Joshi, A Critical Edition of the Jhangita of Narhari, with a study of the life and work of the author and tradition of Jnanmargi in Old Gujarati Literature (in Gujarati, English title, Ph.D. thesis submitted to the M.S. University of Baroda: 1960), Part II, for an account of the figures mentioned. It may be noted that the dates surrounding these figures are controversial.

[51]For the concept and tradition of Bhakti, see J. Gonda, Visnuism and Sivaism, A Comparison (London, 1970), 21-27; T.Organ, The Hindu Quest for the Perfection of Man (Athens, Ohio: 1970),256ff.

For Kabīr and his associations with Bhakti, C. Vaudeville, Kabir, Au Cabaret de l'amour (Paris: 1959), and her article "Kabir and Interior Religion", History of Religions,III,2 (1964), 191-201.

For Gurū Nānak and Bhakti, W. McLeod, Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion (Oxford: 1968),151-158.

[52]Though on the whole this trend modelled itself on the classical works of sūfism as they entered the Sub-continent from Iran, see A. Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India (Edinburgh: 1969),71-90 passim, there was significant interaction between the Hindu and Muslim cystical traditions; see in particular, Yusuf Husain, "The influence of Islam on the cult of Bhakti in Medieval India", IC,VII (1933),640-662; McLeod, Gurū Nānak, 158-161. For the Muslim mystical writings in the vernaculars Ahmad, Intellectual History,91ff; and C. White, "Sufism in Medieval Hindi Literature", History of Religions,V; 1 (1965),114-132.

[53]Ahmad, Intellectual History,94.

[54]Catalogue, MSS.,24,25 and 34 for example.

[55]For more on this ceremony see below, 150.

[56]Appendix II.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n236/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[57]For a detailed discussion of the rāga, its significance and characteristics, see O. Gangoly, Ragas and Ragnis (Bombay: 1948),1-8; and W. Kaufman, The Ragas of North India (Bloomington: 1968),1-25.

For the manuscripts where the rāgas are indicated for specific gināns, see Catalogue, MS.25,fols.132 and 249, and MS.31,fol.54.

[58]A brief account of his life and poetry will be found in W. Sorley, "Bhitā'I, Shāh 'Abdal Laṭīf", EI 2,I, 1194-1195; and his book, Shāh Abdul Latif of Bhit (London: 1940).

[59]Elias Isqi, "The Music of Sind and the Risala of Shah", (in Sindhi), Payān-i-Laṭīf (Karachi, 1971),44.

[60]S.M. Pandey, "MIrābāI and her contribution to the Bhakti movement", History of Religions,V,1 (1965),64-65.

[61]The practice can still be observed today.

[62]Gangoly, Raga, 38; Kaufman, Raga, 45; Ahmad, Intellectual History,146-147.

[63]For the practice, see D.B. MacDonald, "Samā'", EI 1,IV:1,120-121.

[64]A general discussion on Indian prosody will be found in S. Kellog, A Grammar of the Hindi Language (London: 1938),546-584. For a more detailed survey, see E.V. Arnold, Vedic Metre (Delhi: 1967).

[65]Ahmad, Intellectual History,91-126 passim.

[66]V.D. Madhukaut, A Critical Study of old Gujarat

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n237/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Rasa form as determined from the specimens available between the 12th and 13th centuries A.D.(in Gujarati, English title, Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Bombay: 1960) on which the following remarks are based.

67 M.R. Majumdar, Cultural History of Gujarat (Bombay: 1965),296 and 300.

68 Some of them are scattered in the older manuscripts but the whole collection together can be found in Catalogue, MS.81,fols.1-42. For a fairly free translation of the whole set, see Hooda, Satpanth Literature,55-85.

69 See Ivanow, Ismaili Literature for the gināns, and A. Weber, The History of Indian Literature (London: 1878), Sanskrit Index for references to the Indian classical works.

70 Weber, Indian Literature,93.

71 Ahmad, Intellectual History,120.

72 For the ginān, see Catalogue, MS.108,fols.168-200. It is also found in two later MSS.,28 and 53.

73 For pāda, see Pandey, Mirābāī,59.

74 These terms are defined in Vaudeville, Caberet,20.

75 Appendix II.

76 Literally, a "house of assembly". The term is used to denote the centre of communal religious and social activity both among the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs and the early ṣūfī orders on the Sub-continent, see K. Nizami, Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar (Aligarh: 1955),46-47.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n238/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[77]Illustrations of this attitude are the works of McLeod, Gurū Nānak,8-9, and F. Keay, Kabir and his followers (Calcutta: 1931),26.

[78]Ivanow, Satpanth,40.

[79]E.Carr, What is History (New York: 1967),35.

[80]J. Vansina,Oral Tradition (London: 1965),186.

[81]McLeod, Gurū Nānak,32,fn.1, where he refers this to a suggestion from Professor A.L. Basham of the University of London.

[82]Catalogue, MS.25, where both are listed in the index at the beginning, but since the first forty pages or so are missing, the texts do not appear. MSS.31 and 38 are others in which the older copies can be found. I am using two printed versions, after having collated them with the early manuscript versions; Tarbīyate Du'ā, ed., Lalji Devraj (Bombay: 1915) and Ghaṭ pāṭ Du'ā (10th ed., Bombay: 1937).

[83]Catalogue, MS.48 (and elsewhere) in the ginān called Anaṅt Akhādō, fols.150-188,vss.252-254.

[84]For the ceremony, see Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 90, Section 5, vss.1,3 and 6.

[85]Howard, Shiah School,78-79; Evidence,184.

[86]The present daily ritual prayer is recited wholly in Arabic.

[87]Evidence,185-187.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n239/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[88]Such a contemporary list was discovered by a Russian scholar and published. See A. Semenov, "Ismailitskaya oda posvyashchennaya voploshcheniyam 'Aliya-boga", Iran,II (1928),1-24. Its origin has been traced to a seventeenth century Iranian Ismā'īlī, see Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no.717. The Persian text of the list of Imāms occurs in Semenov, Ismailitskaya,8-13.

[89]Catalogue, MS.38,fols.32-35. The copyist refers to an earlier manuscript dated S.1867(1810) from which he is copying the Shajra.

[90]Contractor, Pīrana Satpanth,119 where he speaks of a hand-written manuscript of the shajra which he has consulted.

[91]Ivanow, Imam Shah,28 and 31.

[92]Muhammad Khān 'Alī, Khātima Mir'āt-i-Ahmadī, ed. S. Nawab Ali (Baroda: 1930),123.

[93]See Appendix I.

[94]Vansina, Oral Tradition,153.

[95]Ibid.,

[96]Catalogue, MS.25,fols.98-131. Also MS.11,fols.1-72. The work has been edited and translated by W. Ivanow from Persian materials, Pandiyāt-i-Jawānmardī, ed. and trans. W.Ivanow (Leiden: 1953).

[97]Ivanow, Pandiyāt,017.

[98]Ibid.,02-03.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n240/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[99] Ivanow, Ismaili Literature,no.683, edited in his Two Early Ismaili Treatises (Bombay: 1933), Persian text,2-42. A translation of the same will be found in Hodgson, Order, Appendix I,279-324.

[100] Edited and translated by W. Ivanow (Leiden: 1950).

[101] Edited and translated by W. Ivanow (Bombay: 1959).

[102] Faṣl dar-bayān-i-shanākht-i-Imām, ed. W. Ivanow (3rd ed., Teheran: 1960); transl.W. Ivanow (2nd Revised Edition, Bombay: 1947); and Taṣnīfāt-i-Khayr Khwāh-i-HarātI, ed. W Ivanow (Teheran: 1961), and Kalām-i-Pīr, ed. and trans. W. Ivanow (Bombay: 1935).

[103] Edited with an Introduction by W. Ivanow (Bombay: 1933).

[104] Risāla dar Haqīqat-i-DīN, trans.W.Ivanow as True Meaning of Religion (3rd ed., Bombay: 1956); and Kitāb Khiṭābāt-i-'Alivya, ed. H. Ojaqi (Bombay: 1963).

[105] Ivanow, Ismaili Literature,138-163 gives an outline of his position and role and lists his works.

[106] Ibid.,193-194. It was edited by W. Ivanow in Der Islam XXIII (1936),1-132 and later translated into Italian. See Pio Filippani-Ranconi, Ummu'l-Kitāb (Napoli: 1966).

[107] W. Ivanow, "Tombs of some Persian Ismaili Imams", JBBRAS,XIV (1938),49-62.

[108] Ivanow, Imam Shah,24.

[109] Ibid.,26.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n241/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[110]This has become extremely rare, the only copy in Pakistan is known to be in the possession of Mr. Ataullah of Tando Muhammad Khan in Sind.

[111]S. Nanjiani, Khōjā Vrattant (Ahmedabad: 1892).

[112]See n.2, above.

[113]Pirzada Sadruddin Dargawala, Tawārikh-i-Pīr (Navsari: 1914).

[114]See n.43, above.

[115]See n.40, above. The work has been revised several times.

[116]Vansina, Oral Tradition, and D.F. McCall, Africa in Time Perspective: A Discussion of Historical Reconstruction from Unwritten Sources (New York: 1969) are two examples.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n242/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

NOTES TO PART ONE

[1]Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, ed. by M. Dānesh-Pazuh and M. Mudarrasī (Teheran: 1960),9,11.

[2]S. Stern, Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries,85-97.

[3]S. Stern, Ismā'īlī Propaganda,298-299. Hamdani, Beginnings,1.

[4]Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa,45. Hamdani, Beginnings,1.

[5]Mas'ūdi, Murūj al-Dhahab (Beirut: 1965),Vol.I,198 and al-Iṣṭakhri, Kitāb Masālik wa-al-Mamālik, ed. M. DeGoeje (Leiden: 1927),175. Also S. Razia Jafri, "Description of India in the works of al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hauqal and al-MaqdisI", in the Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies (Aligarh: 1961),2,10.

[6]Is this the famous idol of Multān? Both the primary and secondary sources seem confused. Al-BīrūnI would have us think that it is the same one that Ḥalam destroyed (Al-BīrūnI,56,tr.116). But al-MuqaddasI also speaks of the idol of Multān (Al-MuqaddasI,483-484) and both descriptions appear to be similar. Hamdani thinks it was destroyed a year after Al-MuqaddasI's visit, i.e. in 986. (Hamdani, Beginnings,3). On the other hand he concurs with Stern in placing from al-Mu'izz to Ḥalam congratulating him to destroying the idol in 965. (Hamdani,3; Stern, Ismaili Propaganda, 302).

[7]The account and the Arabic edition of the source are both found in Stern, Ismā'īlī Propaganda, particularly,301, n.1,304-305; and Stern, Heterodox Ismā'īlism,15ff and 23-24.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n243/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[8]Al-Muqaddasī,481,585.

[9]Zāhid ʿAlī,Taʾrīkh,356-357.

[10]Rashīd al-Dīn,9.

[11]Al-Muqaddasī.485.

[12]See Canard, Fāṭimids,860-861.

[13]B. Lewis, "The Fatimids and the Route to India", in Revue de la Faculte des Sciences Economiques de l'Universite d'Istanbul, Vol.14 (1953),50-54. A much more comprehensive and recent discussion will be found in Abbas Hamdani, "The Fāṭimid - ʿAbbāsid Conflict in India", IC,XLI (1967), 185-191, and his "Some Considerations of the Fāṭimid Caliphate as a Mediterranean Power", Atti Del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici (Napoli: 1967),385-396.

[14]S. Goitein, "The Cairo Geniza as a Source for the History of Muslim Civilization", SI, III (1955),80. Also his Studies in Islamic History and Institution (Leiden: 1966), 344-345.

[15]Goitein, Studies, 329.

[16]Ibid., 345, fn.1.

[17]Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān, Daʿāʾim al-Islām, ed. A.A. Fyzee, 2 Vols. (Cairo: 1951, 1960).

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n244/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[18]See Stern, Ismā'īlī Propaganda, 304. Also traditions surrounding the compilation of the Da'ā'im, where the aim of systematizing the doctrines is brought out. Fyzee, "Qadi an Nu'man, the Fatimid Jurist and Author", JRAS (1934), 21.

[19]Stern, Ismā'īlī Propaganda, 300-302, and Heterodox Ismā'īlism, 16ff.

[20]Muḥammad Nāzim, The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (Cambridge: 1931), 96-97, and C. Bosworth, The Ghaznawids (Edinburgh: 1963), 52. A reference to the massacre is also found in al-Baghdādī, Moslem Schisms and Sects (Al-Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ), trans. A. Halkin (Tel Aviv: 1953), 130.

[21]Nāẓim, Life, 99. Bosworth relates Maḥmūds's persecution of Ismā'īlī elements to a general policy of placating the 'Abbāsids, who were at odds with the Fāṭimids, Ghaznawids, 52-54.

[22]Hamdani, Beginnings, 7-8.

[23]Stern, Ismā'īlī Propaganda, 303.

[24]For the Sūmrās generally, see Elliot and Dowson, The History of India as told by its own Historians (London: 1867), Vol.I, 483-494, and Hamdani, Beginnings, 8-16.

[25]Husain al-Hamdani, "The letters of al-Mustanṣir-bi'llāh", BSOAS, VII (1933-1935), 321, 324. The letter dated 476/1083 states that al-Mustanṣir had received letters from India and Oman with requests to send deputies to fill vacancies caused by the death of their dā'īs. Another

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n245/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

letter dated 481/1088 gives al-Mustanṣir's formal sanction to a dā'ī's appointment to the da'wa of India. The texts of these letters will be found in Al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣirīya, ed. A. Majīd (Cairo: 1953), 203-207, and 167-169 respectively.

[26]Elliot and Dowson, Vol.II, 88-100. Bosworth, Ghaznawids, 182-183.

[27]Husain al-Hamdani, "The Life and Times of Queen Saiyidah Arwā, the Sulaiḥid of the Yemen", JRCAS, XVIII (1931), 505-517, and his article above, n.25.

[28]Elliot and Dowson, I, 483.

[29]Ibid., 491. Bernard Lewis, "Ismā'īlī Notes", BSOAS, XII (1948), 600.

[30]I.M. Shafi, "Fresh Light on the Ghaznavīds", IC, XII (1938). The translated version is on p.213.

[31]Ibid., fn.7.

[32]Elliot and Dowson, I, 215-216.

[33]For an account of the Ghūrids see C. Bosworth, "Ghūrids", EI 2, II, 1099-1103.

[34]Al-Jūzjānī, Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, trans. H. Raverty, 2 Vols. (London: 1881), 363.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n246/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[35] Ibid., 365, 449.

[36] Ibid., 484-485, and fn.3. Aḥmad Sirhindī, Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī, trans. K.K. Basu (Baroda: 1932), 13. See also K. Nizami, Some aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century (Aligarh: 1961), 292, fn.4.

[37] Hodgson, Order, comments on Jūzjānī's writings and contacts with the "heretics", especially 244ff.

[38] Ṭabaqāt, 646-647. Also Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī, 23-24.

[39] Hamdani, Beginnings, 13. M. Titus, Indian Islam, (London: 1930), 101, and D. Menant, "Le Khodjas du Guzarate", Revue du Monde Musulman, XII (1910), 220.

[40] Nizami, Religion and Politics, 294.

[41] The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Vol. III, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (Cambridge: 1971), 596-600.

[42] Stern, Tayyibī Ismā'īlism, 212ff., Zāhid 'Alī, Ta'rīkh, 366ff.

[43] Hamdani, Beginnings, 15, says that this is improbable.

[44] Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (Mouton and Co.: 1962), 47.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n247/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[45] Nanjiani, Vrattant, 198-200. Rahimtoola, Itihās, 221 and below.

[46] Hamdani, Beginnings, 16.

[47] For an account of the Hindu States in Northern India to the thirteenth century see, The Struggle for Empire (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.V), ed. R.C. Majumdar (Bombay: 1957), 24-101. And for the invasions, 1-5, and 116-125. For the Ghaznawīds and Ghūrids in India, see the article on the two in EI 2, II, by C. Bosworth and B. Spuler respectively and in addition Nizami, Religion and Politics, 75-88.

[48] Majumdar, Struggle, 125-129. Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment (Oxford: 1964), 91-93.

[49] For this development see, P. Hardy, "Dihlī Sultanate", EI 2, II, 266-274. A. Habibullah, The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India (Allahbad: 1961), ch. IV.

[50] "Islamic Society", here is not meant in any definitive sense. What is more important is to underline the fact that a domain had been carved out in which Muslims settled and began the process not only of transplanting their cultural backgrounds into the new area but also the necessary corollary of integrating their way of life in a different set of circumstances. See M. Mirza, "Muslim Society in India", in Majumdar, Struggle, 503-504. Also Qureshi, Muslim Community, 83-103.

[51] Qureshi, Muslim Community, chs. I and II. K.A. Nizami in "Hind", EI 2, III, 428-429. The role of the ṣūfīs in conversion is discussed by T. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam (Lahore: 1956), 268-288.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n248/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[52]Al-Bīrūnī, 12, trans. 22 and generally Ch.I. Views of modern Muslim and Hindu writers on the question vary. See B.P. Majumdar, The Socio-Economic History of Northern India (Calcutta: 1960), who argues in favor of Hindu tolerance to foreigners, 127-128. Also M. Munshi's "Foreword" in Majumdar, Struggle, XVff. and in contrast Mohammad Habib, "Introduction" in Nizami, Religion and Politics, XVff.

[53]Nizami, Religion and Politics, 174ff. and 320-322 and Majumdar, Struggle, 498-499. Also Ahmad, Islamic Culture, 83-84.

[54]Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History, 77-124 and also chs. XIII and XIV, where the continuation of Hindu religious activity is described. Also Majumdar, Struggle, 47ff. and general remarks on the religious situation, 398-404, most of which are relevant to the area and period under review. A proper sociological study of the "plural society" however, is a dire necessity and in particular, an inter-disciplinarian approach to the study of the complex development of Islam in India.

[55]Majumdar, Struggle, 399. P.N. Chopra, "Impact of Islam on India", reprint from Journal of World History, International Commission for History of Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind (Paris: n.d.), 100. Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History, discusses an intensifying of beliefs in astrology and fatalism as a reflection of the people's reaction to the times, 265-266. See also Tara Chand, The Influence of Islam on Indian Culture (Allahabad: 1946).

[56]Khaliq Nizami, "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their attitude towards the State", IC, XXIII, XXIV (1949-1950), 13-21 in particular. Also Aziz Ahmad, "The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal India", Der Islam, XXXVIII (1962), 142-144.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n249/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[57]Nizami, Religion and Politics, gives an overall picture - chs. III,IV. In addition see S.M. Ikram, History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan (Lahore: 1961), chs. X,XI. See also M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims (London: 1967), Part II.

[58]Goitein, Studies, 348-349.

[59]Al-Idrīsī, India and the Neighbouring Territories, trans. S. Maqbul Ahmad (Leiden: 1960), 60. Also the translator's article, "Commercial Relations of India with the Arab World", IC, XXVIII (1964), 145-148.

[60]Misra, Muslim Communities, 5.

[61]Epigraphica Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1961, ed. Z.A. Desai, 10.

[62]Ibid., 12-15. Also E. Hultzsch, "A Grant of Arjunadèva of Gujarat, dated 1246 A.D.", Indian Antiquary, XI (1822), 241-245.

[63]Zāhid 'Alī, Ta'rīkh, 428ff. Canard, Fāṭimids, 856-857.

[64]Lewis, Assassins, 36.

[65]Marshall Hodgson, "The Ismā'īlī State", in The Cambridge History of Iran (Cambridge: 1968), Vol.V, 440. The whole article is an excellent summation of his book, The Order of Assassins, 6. The organization of these "cells" into a corporate state is discussed on 439-443.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n250/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[67]For the earlier stages, see Hodgson, Order, ch.IV and Lewis, Assassins, 50ff.

[68]Hodgson, Order, 126-139, where he discusses al-Ghazālī's response and also the rise of the legends around the assassins.

[69]Above n.36, Ṭabaqāt, 1203-1205, 1214.

[70]The whole process itself underwent several different stages. See Hodgson, Order, 148-182, and 217ff. Also his Ismā'īlī State, 463-466. In this connection too there is the work of W. Ivanow, Alamut and Lamasar (Teheran: 1960), 12-30.

[71]McLeod, Gurū Nānak, 151. Majumdar, Struggle, 398ff. discusses in greater detail changes in the Hindu tradition taking place at the time.

[72]See Notes to the Introduction, n.40 and in addition S.C. Mukherji, A Study of Vaisnavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal (Calcutta: 1966), ch.I.

[73]Yusuf Husain, Influence of Islam, 640-662.

[74]See Notes to the Introduction, n.51.

[75]For the role of Śaivism, see The Age of Imperial Kanauj (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.IV) ed. R.C. Majumdar (Bombay: 1955), 300, 301 and 340, and also Majumdar, Struggle, 445.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n251/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[77]Majumdar, Struggle, 435-436.

[78]Al-BĪrūnī, 56, trans.116; references to the temples of Multan, in particular the so-called "House of God" are found in most Muslim travellers' accounts such as Ibn Hawqal, MasūdĪ and al-MuqaddasĪ. See above n.6.

[79]A. Schimmel, "The influence of Sufism on Indo-Muslim Poetry", in J. Strelka, ed. Anagogic Qualities of Literature, (University Park: 1971), 190.

[80]K. Nizami, "Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā", EI 2, I, 912-913, and also his Religion and Politics, 220-229.

[81]See K. Nizami, The Life and Times, 10-38 where he traces in detail all these events.

[82]For Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā see Ibid., 72-77.

[83]Nizami, Religion and Politics, 175-177.

[84]Ibid.

[85]Nizami, Early Indo-Muslim Mystics, 13-21 and Aziz Ahmad, The Sufi and Sultan, 142-144 where they discuss the contrasting relationships of the two orders.

[86]Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Culture, 131 (Oxford: 1964).

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n252/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[87]Al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Maḥjūb, trans. R.A. Nicholson, (London: 1911), 14.

[88]See Ahmad, Studies, 136 where he refers to the rise of the hetrodox (bi-Shar') ṣufī sects.

[89]The Delhi Sultanate (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.VI), ed. R.C. Majumdar (Bombay: 1960), 616.

[90]P. Spear, India, Pakistan and the West (London: 1958), 88.

[91]Nizami, The Life and Times, 105-106; Ahmad, Islamic Culture, 137.

[92]I have derived the synopsis on the basis of the following gināns:

1) Putra, the oldest copied text in the Catalogue, MS.59, fols.45-67.

2) Satgur Nūrna Vivā, MS.59, fols.160-172.

3) Satvarṇi Vadi, I was able to consult the manuscript copy of this ginān through the courtesy of al-Waez A. Mawji, of Dar-es-Salam. It is dated S.1954 (1897), and I collated it with a lithographed copy (no date, no publisher). There are no textual differences.

[93]For the concept of Dvīpa among the Hindus, see John Dowson, "Dwipa" in A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature (10th eddition, London: 1961), 102. Jambu-dvīpa in ancient Indian Geography stood for India; Saheta dvīpa (properly sveta-dvīpa) was identified with many places, one of them being Persia. See Walker, "Svetadvīpa", Hindu World, II, 468.

realpatidar.com

[94]I was unable to determine the origin of this name.

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n253/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[95] The word 'Pāṭaṇ' itself means city, and a number of cities in Medieval India had the word attached as a suffix, e.g. Somnātha Pāṭaṇ, but in this case the reference is probably to the city of Anilwāda or Nahrwāla. See the map of Hind, in EI 2, III (Between 428-429).

[96] This is the famous ruler Siddhrāja.

[97] I.e. Master of heaven, hell and earth, probably an epithet for a deity in Hinduism.

[98] A Hindu deity, whose cult was very popular in Northern India. See Walker, "Gaṇeśa", Hindu World, I, 376-378.

[99] This name is probably meant to represent a typical wandering yogi with magical powers which are still common in India to this day. See Walker, "Sādhu", Hindu World, II, 322-326.

[100] Literally, one-tenth. This is the standard term used in the Tradition of the customary tithe that must be paid by the adherent, see Mujtaba Ali, Origin of the Khojāhs, 71-73.

[101] I.e. the city of the Pīr.

[102] There is a variant in the two episodes concerning this vow. In the Puṭra, the King had decided to perform a child marriage for her daughter, but even at that tender age she convinces her father to let her wait until the "true bridgroom" appears from a foreign land.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n254/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[103]The warrior or knightly caste in the Hindu system, see Walker, "Kshattriya", Hindu World, I, 567-569.

[104]See Walker, "Panchama", Hindu World, II, 172 where he discusses the term.

[105]For the data in the Garbīs, see Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 73-74, Garbī no.17.

[106]The synopsis is based on the following extracts:
1) Mōman Chetāmaṇi, Catalogue, MS.74, which appears to be the oldest copy. Vss.215-272 deal with the first anecdote.
2) Satvarṇi Vaḍi, vss.132-146.

[107]This son, whose full name was Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Ārif, eventually succeeded to his father's position in Multan, see Nizami, Religion and Politics, 223.

[108]I.e. the group of five persons, whom the Shī'a in general, consider as constituting a sacred and pure pentad, see H. Corbin, En Islam Iranien, I (Paris: 1971), 58-59; and below

[109]Mōman Chetāmaṇi, vss.273-350, of which vss.273-309 are translated in Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 97-101; and Satvarṇi Vaḍi, vss.152-169.

[110]Mōman Chetāmaṇi, vs.362 passim., for example. Also Garbīs, no.17, vs.15 where the Qur'ān is referred to.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n255/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[111] H. Corbin, Le Livre Reunissant les Deux Sagesses (Teheran: 1953), 6-7.

[112] It is this function of the narratives that probably led to the word ginān being used in the Tradition as a whole, implying that the medium was a means of conveying ginān (knowledge). Eventually the term became identified with the instrument itself; the medium, in fact, had become the message.

[113] In particular the well known motifs in the story of Moses at the Court of the Pharoah.

[114] More specifically the emphasis is on the regulation relating to Dasōnd.

[115] Churara, Nurum Mubin, 215-216 where he is also called Pīr Nūr al-Dīn.

[116] Rahimtulla, Itihās, 220.

[117] It is in the hands of Sayyids of the Imām Shāhī branch.

[118] Majumdar, Struggle, 75-77.

[119] In the Ṭayyibī Bohrā tradition the accounts had most certainly become fused some time in the late sixteenth century; see Ivanow, Ismaili Literature,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n256/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

nos.303,308, particularly the latter. Eventually the popular accounts were written in Gujarati and appear in a work entitled Mōsam-i-Bahār, first published in 1884. I was unable to consult the older version, but apparently a reprint of the section dealing with India has been issued recently, Mōsam-i-Bahār, Vol.III (Bombay: 1962), 328-345 where the emergence of the community and the activities of the early dā'īs is summarized. See also Mian Abdul Husan, Gulzare Daudi (Ahmedabad: n.d.), 30-33; and Jhaveri, "A Legendary History of the Bohoras", JBBRAS, IX (1935), 37-52.

[120] Stern, Epistle of Al-Amir, 20ff.

[121] Sijillāt, Letter 50, p.168.

[122] Above, n.119.

[123] Hodgson, Order, 255.

[124] Nanjiani, Vrattant, 158.

[125] Ivanow, Imam-Shah, 58, where he quotes from the Manāzil.

[126] S.M. Desai, Tawārikhē Navsāri (Navsari: 1897), 51.

[127] Appendix I.

[128] Dargahwalla, Tawārikh-i-Pīr.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n257/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

129 Khātima, 123.

130 See the genealogy in Appendix I(i).

131 See the genealogy in Appendix I(i).

132 Ibid., Satvarṇi Vadi, vs.127, speaks of Ṣalāh al-Dīn as being the father of Shams.

133 Ivanow, Satpanth, 16.

134 The two gināns are Chandrabhāṇ and Vel and Surbhāṇ and Vel; the oldest copies of both without the respective Vels are found in Catalogue, MS.59. These are, however, found in a later manuscript, Catalogue, MS.60. The date S.1175 (1118) occurs in Surbhāṇji Vel, vs.5, and the date S.1200 (1143) in Chandrabhāṇi Vel, vs.6. The date S.1178 (1121) is found in a different ginān; see Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 96 (vs.25). For the role of the disciples from which the above gināns take their name, see Introduction: Notes, n. 48.

135 For the famous mystic and his enigmatic mentor, see H. Ritter, "Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī", EI 2, II, 393-396. Also in this connection the article of Akhtar Ahmedmian "Shams Tabrīzi - Was he an Ismailian", IC, X (1936), 131-136.

136 Mōman Chetāmaṇi, vs. 204 says he came from Tabriz, and this could be a possible interpolation because Surbhāṇji Vel, vs.1 states that he originated from Ghazna. Obviously the interpolation could only have taken place once the two legends came together.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n258/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[137] W. Ivanow, "Shams Tabriz of Multan", Professor M. Shafi Presentation Volume (Lahore:1957), 116, al-Jāmī, ed.; Nafaḥāt al-Uns (Teheran: 1918), 465, was the only place where the two names occur together, but the reference does not support Ivanow's interpretation. I was unable to locate any other reference to such a meeting in the book.

[138] Shūshtārī, Majālis al-mu'minīn, Vol.II (Teheran: 1956-57), 110.

[139] Hooda, Satpanth Literature, GarbI, no.14, vs.7, GarbI, no.17, vs.1 etc.

[140] Pandiyāt, 06.

[141] Abu Ishāq, Haft-Bāb, 24, tr.24.

[142] Ivanow, Imam Shah, 30, n.2.

[143] Satveṇiji Vel, Catalogue, MS.22, dated S.1954 (1897), vs.72.

[144] See Ivanow, Imam Shah, 43-45, and below,

[145] Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyya, 42.

[146] Nanjiani, Vrattant, 143-146; Chumara, Noorum Mubin, 326.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n259/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[147] See Muhibbul Hasan, Kashmir under the Sultans (Calcutta: 1959), 283-288.

[148] Mōman Chetamaṇi, vs.205. Satvaṇi Vaḍi, vs.127; Satveṇiji Vel, vs.72, state that he travelled in twenty four countries. See also Churara, Nooṛum Mubin, 325.

[149] Ivanow, Imam Shah, 32-33.

[150] See Ivanow's comments in the Introduction to Kalām-i-Pīr, XIII-XIV.

[151] Catalogue, MS.25, fol.190 and MS.59, fol.37 wher the names of the twelve Ithnā 'Asharī Imāms occur after the standard genealogy of Nizārī Ismā'īlī Imāms. For the Shī'a dynasties in India, see Ahmad, Islamic Culture, 51-52.

[152] Ivanow, Imam Shah, 32-33.

[153] Catalogue, MS.25, fol.190 and other older manuscripts. See also the genealogy of Imāms in Appendix I (ii).

[154] For the schism, see W. Ivanow, "A forgotten branch of the Ismailis", JRAS (1938), 57-79.

[155] Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no.701, an epistle dated 1490.

[156] See below, 122ff.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n260/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

157 The shrine of Sayyid Sultān 'Alī Akbar is to be found just outside Multan, and the grave contains an inscription tracing his genealogy through Shams, back to 'Alī.

158 Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 90,96. A ginān entitled Mansamjāmaṇi Vadi, attributed to Shams contains a list of eighty-four centres in Sind and their heads, all apparently established by Pīr Shams. No manuscript copy of this ginān could be traced but a lithographed edition (Bombay: 1916) exists in the Ismailia Association Library in Karachi. I am grateful to Dr. Akbar Ladak and Miss Zwahir Nooraly for providing me with this information.

159 Information based on discussion with the present day Shamsis of Multan.

160 H.A. Rose, A Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province (Lahore: 1914), 402-403.

161 Evidence, 184-187.

162 The head of the present jamā'at there assured me that his ancestors had always lived around Multan.

163 Catalogue, Appendix II, lists 34 manuscripts as having been collected from Punjab, the oldest dated 1791.

164 W. Ivanow, Shams Tabriz of Multan, 114.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n261/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

165 Chandrabhāṇji Vel, vs.4, in fact, states that he adopted the garb of a poor ṣūfī.

166 Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 61 and 63 to cite two examples. Also 77 where manual labor is hinted at. The narratives related to Sātgur Nūr seem even more specific and refer to the Kanbis who are from an agricultural caste.

167 Ivanow believes that such a revival took place after the Imāms settled in Anjūdan, late in the fourteenth century, Pandiyāt, 07.

168 Mōman Chetāmaṇi, vs.383. Anant Akhādō, vss. 382-383, Jannatpuri, trans. Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 131, vs.83. Satvarṇi Vadi, vs. 184, 187.

169 Jannatpuri, vs.83.

170 See Appendix I (i).

171 Faṣl Shanākht Imām, 7, tr. 24. Ivanow, Imam Shah, 45ff; and below

172 Sir John Malcolm, The History of Persia (London: 1815), 465.

173 Futuhāt-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī, ed. (Aligarh: 1954), 6-7.

174 See the remarks of I. Petrushevsky, "The Socio-

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n262/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Economic Conditions of Iran under the Il-Khāns", Cambridge History of Iran, V, 484ff. The Nizārī Ismā'īlī poet, Nizārī Quhistānī (d. about 1320) hints at the persecution and suffering in some of his writings. See pp.488 and 527 in the article just cited. For the poet's life history, see Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, 137.

175 In all the Traditional sources, he is given a key position, and in the manuscripts the largest number of preserved gināns is attributed to him.

176 Ivanow, Imam Shah, 34. Churar, Noorum Mubin, 338. Shajra of PIr Shams, Catalogue, MS. 38, Fol.34 where it is sid that he lived for 225 years.

177 See, for example, Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 106 and also in his translation of Dasa Avatāra, 114.

178 Ivanow, Tombs, 54.

179 Abū Ishāq, Haft-Bāb, 24, tr. 24.

180 Ibid.

181 Tasnīfāt, 35-42 where he describes his visit.

182 See Garbī no.18 in Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 75, vs.12.

183 Ivanow, Tombs, 57.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n263/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[184]For the contiguity of all these places to each other, Ibid., 52-53.

[185]Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, 177.

[186]The data about the jamā'at-khānas is contained in a ginān called Chatrisa Kror, Catalogue, MS.44, fols.96-114, vss.8-10; the names of the three heads appointed are also given, see below n.192.

[187]Jannatpuri, vs.84, tr. Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 131.

[188]In modern Sind. I am indebted to Dr. G. Allana for giving me information from oral tradition that he has collected among Ismā'īlīs in Sind.

[189]James Burnes, Narrative of a visit to the Court of Sinde (Edinburgh: 1831), 31.

[190]Jannatpuri, vs.85, tr. Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 131.

[191]See M. Pithawalla, A Physical and Economic Geography of Sind (Karachi: 1959(, 79-83. See also H.T. Lambrich, Sind, A General Introduction (Hyderabad, Sind: 1964), 17ff.

[192]Chatrisa Kror, vs. 9 and 10. The term Mukhi, also occurs in Mansamjāmni Vadi and is derived from the

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n264/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

the Sanskrit word MŪkhya, to mean "most important or chief".
Hindu society in Sind has always referred to village heads by this name, and it was probably borrowed from them by the dā'īs. See U. Thakur, Sindhi Culture (Bombay: 1959), 73.

193 Jannatpuri, vss.89 and 90, tr. Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 131. Also Anaṅt Akhādō, vs.42.

194 P.Hardy, "Dihlī Sultanate", EI 2, II, 270. Also Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī, 169-173. Uccḥ was a target for an earlier invasion too in 1397, see p.169 in Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī. The ruling dynasty in Sind at this time was the Samma dynasty; the Sammas were converts to Islam and thus the alleged concentration of da'wa activity in Sind may have been the cause of the relative ease with which the pīrs under the Sammas' rule could operate. For details, see Eliot and Dowson, I, 494-497.

195 Satvarṇi Vadi, vss.208-212. See also the story and traditions preserved in Nanjiani, Vrattant, 150-154, and Chupara, Noorum Mubin, 336.

196 Tasnīfāt, 55.

197 Above, n.195.

198 One such ginān is called Sō Kriyā, see Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 117-121, where it is translated. See also his translation of the Garbīs, in particular nos.6 and 23, for examples of such similes.

199 Ivanow, Satpanth, 47.

200 See n.171 above.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n265/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[201] As illustrated for instance by the appointment of Pīr Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh (died 1884) and earlier Pīr Sarkār Mātā Salāmat, the mother of Āghā Khān I; see Evidence, 135 and Howard, Shia School, 73.

[202] Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyya, 20.

[203] In most of the gināns attributed to Ṣadr al-Dīn, the last verse relates one of these appelations to his name. For Hariśchandra, see Walker, Hindu World, I, 429-431. Sahadeva was one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers who figure in the Hindu classic, Mahābhārata; see Dowson, Hindu Mythology, 272-273. It is noteworthy that the stories related to the exploits of Hariśchandra and the Pāṇḍavas in Hindu tradition occur in the gināns as well. See Catalogue, MS.88, fols. 154-178, where a ginān called Paṇḍavejo Parab, occurs. Also Catalogue, MS.25, fols.177-182 for the story of Hariśchandra.

[204] For the ginān, see Appendix II. The ginān dwells on the theme that by virtue of his spiritual power he was able to lead twelve million followers to the right path. See also Mōman Chetāmaṇi, vs.384; Anaṅt Akhādō, vs.384.

[205] See Introduction, 41.

[206] Ivanow, Imam Shah, 34, n.1.

[207] The date occurs at the beginning of a ginān called Gur Ḥasaṇ Kabīr al-Dīn ane Kanipā no Samvad, Catalogue, MS.21, fols.152-154, where it is only partially preserved. A printed version (ed. Lalji Devraj, Bombay: 1905) contains the full text.

[208] Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, 178.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n266/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

209 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlavī, ed., Akhbār al-Akhyār fī Asrār al-Abrār (Delhi: 1891), 204-205.

210 See Mohammad Shafi, "'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Sayf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī", EI 2, I, 60.

211 See Anant Akhādō, vss.1, 8 passim., where Islām Shāh is reffered to as the Imām. Also, Abū Isḥāq, Haft-Bāb, 24, tr. 24, where he lists the names of the Imāms with the title Islām Shāh.

212 Ivanow, Imam Shah, 34, n.2.

213 J. Subhan, Sufism, its Saints and Shrines (Lucknow: 1960), Appendix A, p.359 where his name appears in the traditional list of saints of the Suhrawardī Order. Also Ivanow, Imam Shah, 50.

214 Anant Akhādō, vs.43 and Satvarṇi Vaḍi, vs.252, both relate that he visited the Imam in Kahak. In the course of his travels, the Pīr is said to have stitched a "pāghdi" (turban) for the Imām, each section of the turban comprised of verses of praise that he had composed in honor of the Imām.

215 Dihlavī, Akhbār, 205.

216 Satvarṇi Vaḍi, vs.272. Satveṇiji Vel, vs.119.

217 Satvarṇi Vaḍi, vs.273. Satveṇiji Vel, vs.120

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n267/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

218 See Appendix I(1).

219 Satvaṇi Vaḍi, vs.282.

220 Ibid., vs.284.

221 Ibid., vs.286-287. At present a few Ismā'īlīs visit the shrine every year to commemorate the memory of the Pīr.

222 Jannatpuri, tr. Hooda, Satpanth Literature, vss.5, 21, 22.

223 See Notes to the Introduction, n.15.

224 Jannatpuri, vss.24ff. Also Satvaṇi Vaḍi, vss. 291-298.

225 See Appendix I(1).

226 Satvaṇi Vaḍi, vs.299. Satveṇiji Vel, vss.125ff.

227 See Appendix I(1).

228 Catalogue, MS.110, fols.1-72, where another text of the Pandiyāt in Khōjkī transliteration copied in S.1904 (1847). In an introductory note on f.1 it is stated that after Pīr Tāj al-Dīn's death, some followers went to visit the Imām, who gave them the book and asked them to consider it as their pīr.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n268/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[229]Ivanow, Tombs, 54.

[230]This occurs in the ginān, Satveṇiji Vel, vs.108 of the printed version (Bombay: 1905) but not in the manuscript copy dated 8 years earlier, and could possibly be an interpolation. For a discussion of the two versions, see Appendix II.

[231]Ivanow, Tombs, 54-55.

[232]Mōman Chetāmaṇi, vs.25, where it says Gharīb Mīrzā and vs.362 where Mustanṣir's name occurs.

[233]Ivanow, Tombs, 55.

[234]Taṣnīfāt, 52.

[235]Khiṭābāt-i-'Kliyyā, 43.

[236]Ivanow, Imam Shah, 41.

[237]Above, Introduction, 38 and Notes to the Introduction, 96.

[238]Ibid.

[239]See Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no.701, p.140.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n269/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[240] Catalogue, MS.25, where the date S.1793 (1736) occurs on fols.47, 66 and 138. The Pandiyāt is copied between fols.98 and 132.

[241] Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, 139.

[242] Taṣnīfāt, 60-61.

[243] This would tie in fairly well with the conclusion reached earlier that the deaths of Tāj al-Dīn and Imām Shāh and the resulting problems provided the casus belli, for the sending of the Pandiyāt, within the first quarter of the sixteenth century, above 92.

[244] Ivanow, Pandiyāt, 09.

[245] Ivanow, Imam Shah, 43. The "sayyids" whom I met in Pirana were eqaully adamant on this point.

[246] In the manuscripts, there are a number of gināns attributed to him, one of the important ones being Satveṇiji Vel, see Appendix II.

[247] Ibid.

[248] This contains the Manāzil al-Aqtab, cited earlier see above 141, and the Ta'rīkh-i-Burhānpūr, for which see Ivanow, Imam Shah, 49ff.

[249] Satvarṇi Vaḍi, vs.301.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n270/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

250 Ivanow, Imam Shah, 43-44.

251 Taṣnīfāt, 39.

252 Pandiyāt, 71-72, tr.45.

253 Nanjiani, Vrattant, 239-243.

254 Ibid. The details can be verified in Rahimtoola, Itihās, 22.

255 See Appendix I.

256 Catalogue, MS.38, fol.10.

257 Ibid.

258 See Notes to the Introduction, n.39.

259 Appendix I.

260 Taṣnīfāt, 34.

261 Ibid., 54.

262 Catalogue, MS. 38, fol.34-35.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n271/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

263 See a work called Siyār al-Aṭqiyā, quoted in Misra, Muslim Communities, 62.

264 Taṣnīfāt, 60-61.

265 Nanjiani, Vrattant, 242-243.

266 See Appendix I(ii).

267 Ivanow, Tombs, 55-56.

268 Catalogue, MS.31, fol.2. For fa'l, see T. Fahd, "Fa'l", EI 2, II, 758-760.

269 For his life and mysticism, see W. Orr, A Sixteenth Century India-Mystic (London: 1947).

270 Ibid., 51, where he discusses the term.

271 Nanjiani, Vrattant, 242. He also mentions the names of his two brothers Araḍīn and Jamardīn who was allegedly killed near Fathebag in Sind. A shrine alleged to be that of the two brothers exists there at present, but is in an extremely poor state.

272 The most illustrative colophon is to be found in Catalogue, 31, fol.1, where it is stated that the manuscript belongs to Pīrzāda Bāwā Buzrag Vakīl Muḥammad Hāshim. The earliest date, S.1872 (1815) occurs on fol.61, but the colophon also states that portions of the manuscript were copied from a manuscript belonging to Bāwā Khayr Sahin. The name of a Bāwā Ja'far 'Alī also occurs on fols.144 and 154. The

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n272/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

colophon is in Persian and indicates that the Vakīls were probably from Iran.

[273] Ibid.

[274] For a very general discussion see, B. Lewis,"Bāb", EI 2, I, 832. See also Zāhid ʿAlī, Hamārē Ismāʿīlī mazhab kī haqīqat awr Uskā nizām (Hyderabad: 1954), 30ff.

The term bāb virtually dropped out altogether under the Nizārīs, and I am inclined to think that "Bāwā" is probably the Khōjkī-ized version of the honorific Turkish word "Bābā", see F. Taeschner, "Baba", EI 2, I, 838, where it is also said that the word is used in dervish circles.

Within the Nizārī context, the word Bābā is often used to refer to Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, see Hodgson, Order, 280ff. The Nizārī Imāms of the seventeenth and eighteenth century also used Turkish titles, such as "Mīrzā" after their names, and the word "Bābā" also entered into the Tradition in India around the seventeenth century and was used as an honorific title for those involved in preaching.

[275] See n.272 above. See also Chunara, Noorum Mubin, 382, where it is also suggested that after Pīr Tāj al-Dīn only Vakīls continued to be appointed to the jamāʿāt in India.

[276] I am grateful to Dr. G. Allana of Sind University for providing me with this information from oral tradition he has collected. The descendants of these Sayyids are still to be found in Tando Muhammad Khan and are still respected and honored, more because of the work done by their ancestors, since they do not, anymore, play an important function in the life of the community. I have also attempted to check the data with materials preserved by Nanjiani and among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of Gujarat.

[277] Actually in a nearby village called Bhiṇ. I could

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n273/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

not get any more information about him, and even though the shrine is gradually disintegrating for lack of care, a few NizārI Ismā'IlIs still come to pay their respects occasionally. The shrine is also referred to by Shaykh Sadiq Ali Ansari, A Short Sketch - Historical and Traditional of the Musulman Races found in Sind (Revised edition, Karachi: 1954), 65.

278 Burnes, Visit to the Court of Sinde, 36, refers to the shrine of Nūr Shāh and says that it was built, according to the local inhabitants, "150 years ago of stones brought from the neighborhood of Thatta". If such had been the case, Nūr Shāh probably died around the end of the seventeenth century. Burnes, visiting the area in 1828, also refers to the effects of the drought on the city which, by that time, was left with a small population of 500.

279 See MS.38, fol.51 for an example.

280 For the ginān, see Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 111.

281 Ivanow, Tombs, 60-61.

282 The oldest copy of this ginān occurs in Catalogue, MS.27, towards the end (the folios are not numbered). The date is S.1911 (1854).

283 Catalogue. MS.48, fol.360.

284 Catalogue, MS.21, fols., 156 and 158. Oral tradition preserves the son's name as Akbar Shāh, see Chunara, Noorum Mubin, 399.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n274/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

285 Nanjiani, Khōjā Vrattant, 232; Chunara, Noorum Mubin, 398-399.

286 Ibid.

287 Gulzār-i-Shams, quoted in Chunara, Noorum Mubin, 399. Also Nanjiani, Vrattant, 234. There are a number of short gināns attributed to Muḥammad Shāh, two of which occur in Catalogue, MS.24, fols.218 and 226 (n.d.).

288 Howard, Shia School, 93.

289 The oral tradition is preserved in a Gujarati work Momin Nurmuhammad, Ismā'īli Mōmin Kōmnō Itihās (Bombay: 1936).

290 Khātima Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, 123.

291 Nurmuhammad, Ismā'īlī Mōmin, 132. There is a fa'l preserved in his name in the manuscripts, Catalogue, MS. 48, fol.460 and the manuscript is dated 1801.

292 See above n.276.

293 Among the gināns attributed to him one is found in MS.25, fol.233. On fol.209, the date S.1834 (1777) occurs. It is, therefore, quite likely that he may be an early figure of the post-schism period.

294 Nanjiani, Vrattant, 231; Nurmuhammad, Ismā'īlī Mōmin, 135.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n275/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[295] Nanjiani, Vrattant, 231.

[296] G. Allana, Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah (Lahore: 1967), 7-9, where some local tradition about Ḥasan Pīr's miracles is also cited, and the custom of visiting the shrine discussed.

[297] Nurmuhammad, Ismā'īlī Mōmin, 134-136.

[298] Misra, Muslim Communities, 62-64.

[299] See Ivanow, A Forgotten Branch, 58-64, where he discusses Shāh Ṭāhir's origins and visit to India.

[300] Misra, Muslim Communities, 64-65.

[301] The term occurs in Khiṭābāt 'Aliyyā, 42, and in its usage was probably meant to indicate the seat of the Imām. Later on in the Nizārī Tradition in India, it also came to refer to the central jamā'at-khāna in a country or province.

[302] Ivanow, Tombs, 58-59.

[303] Ibid., 58.

[304] Howard, Shia School, 85.

[305] See Catalogue, MS.45, fols.1-8 for the gināns. The

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n276/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

manuscript is dated S.1977 (1920), fol.181. My information is culled from a booklet published by the Ismā'īlī Sahitiya Mandal (Bombay: 1926), 13-16, where information on Bībī Imām Bēgum is given. Her grave in Karachi contains no inscription.

306 Ṭūsī, Rawḍat al-Taslīm, 118, tr.172. This prophecy occurs too frequently in the gināns to need quotation. See also Haft-Bāb-i-Bābā Sayyidnā, tr. in Hodgson, Order, 296.

307 Some extremely relevant remarks pertaining to the whole problem of how in most periods of artistic creativity unconventional thinkers could never write frankly, only allusively, will be found in L. Strauss, Persecution and the Art of Writing (Glencoe, Illinois: 1952), in particular, the Introduction, where he discusses the problem in the context of Muslim Philosophers such as al-Fārābī.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n277/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

NOTES TO PART TWO

[1] Some very relevant remarks are to be found in J.Strelka, ed., Perspectives in Literary Symbolism, Vol.I (University Park: 1968), 6, and elsewhere in his article there "Comparative Criticism and Literary Symbolism", 1-28.

[2] J. Strelka, ed., Anagogic Qualities of Literature, Vol.IV (University Park: 1971), 1.

[3] For a general definition of this term, see Zāhid 'Alī, Hamārā Ismā'īlī mazhab kī haqīqat awr uskā nizām (Hyderabad, India: 1954), 576ff. See also W. Madelung, "Hakā'ik", EI 2, III, 71-72, and the remarks of W. Ivanow, Rise of the Fatimids (Calcutta: 1942), 2-6, and H. Corbin, Histoire de la philosophie Islamique (Paris: 1964), 93-95, where he discussed the term in a general Shī'ī context as well.

[4] For these three terms, see Zāhid 'Alī, Ismā'īlī mazhab, 395ff., where he also gives many illustrations of the process from Ismā'īlī works. Qāḍī Nu'mān, to cite an example, not only wrote a work which expounded the ta'wīl of [redacted]'ā'im, see Ta'wīl al-Dā'ā'im, ed., M.H. al-'A'ẓamī (Ca[redacted].d.), but another work where he discussed the principles on which the system rests, see Asās al-Ta'wīl, ed., A. Tamer (Beirut: 1960).

[5] Ivanow has already discussed at length the question of how non-Ismā'īlī writers capitalized on this doctrine to paint a highly exaggerated picture of "grades of initiation", etc., Ivanow, Evolution of Ismā'īlism, II and elsewhere in his other works. In this connection, see also Hodgson, Order,

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n278/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

18, and fn.17 on the same page.

[6]The word "themal" is preferred to the usual "thematic" because it is a more comprehensive term and can be used to clarify not only the literature but also the culture which produces it. See H. Lee Nostrand, "Theme Analysis in the Study of Literature", in Problems of Literary Evaluation, ed., J. Strelka (University Park: 1969), 183. Elsewhere in the article he discusses the merits of such a themal approach.

[7]C. Lévi-Strauss, The Savage Mind (London: 1962), 16-22, where the idea is fully enunciated.

[8]For a definiton of mythopoesis, see H. Slochower, Mythopoesis (Detroit: 1970), 15. See also T. Izutsu, "The Archetypal Image of Chaos in Chuang Tau", in Anagogic Qualities of Literature, IV, 269-286; the article is devoted to studying the problem of the mythopoeic level of discourse in the work of Chuang Tzu.

[9]Slowchower, Mythopoesis, 34.

[10]See W. Ivanow, "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", JBBRAS, Vol.15 (1939), 19-20.

[11]Tasnīfāt, 17.

[12]Ivanow Organization, 24, 25. For a general scheme of guidance on the qualities and duties of a dā'ī, see al-Nu'mān, Kitāb al-Himma fi Ādāb Itbā' al-A'imma, ed. Kāmil Husayn (Cairo: n.d.), 136-140, which are summarized in Ivanow's article cited here, 15-17.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n279/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[13] See the Iftitāḥ, 61ff., where he gives the stages by which the dā'ī won over the Kutāma tribe and took control of the area. A good discussion of the method and success achieved by Abū 'Abd Allāh will be found in J. Daschraoui, "Contribution a l'histoire des Fatimides en Ifrīqiya", Arabica, 8 (1961), 192-203, and also his article, "Les Commencements de la Prediction Ismā'īlienne en Ifrīqiya", SI, XX (1964), 93-102.

[14] We are fortunate in that his autobiography has survived and gives us a vivid picture of his activities, see Sirāt al-Mu'ayyad al-Dīn, Dā'ī al-Du'āt, ed. Kāmil Husayn (Cairo: 1949).

[15] For his activities, refer generally to Hodgson, Order, Ch.II.

[16] Anecdotes in an "heroic" vein about the exploits of Rashīd al-Dīn have also been preserved among Syrian Ismā'īlīs, see Un Grand Maître des Assassins, tr. M. Stanislaus Guyard (Paris: 1877). In this connection, also Hodgson, Order, Ch.IX.

[17] This is the work entitled Kitāb al-'Ālim wa-al-Ghulām (Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no.10, p.18).

[18] H. Corbin, "Epiphanie Divine et naissance spirituelle dans la Gnose ismaélienne", Eranos-Jahrbuch, XXIII (1955), 182. tr. "Divine Epiphany and Spiritual Birth in Ismailian Gnosis", in Man and Transformation (New York: 1964), 140.

[19] W. Ivanow, Studies in Early Persian Ismailism (2nd revised edition, Bombay: 1955), 61-87 and Corbin, Divine Epiphany, 141-145.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n280/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[20]Rather than trouble the reader with additional references, I have chosen to abstract what follows below, concerning al-ʿĀlim wa-al-Ghulām from the two articles cited above and that concerning the narratives from the previous account, Part One, Ch.III, above 70-76.

[21]The term, a compound of the two Sanskrit words "Ghaṭ" and "Pāṭ", refers, at the present time in Nizārī Ismāʿīlī ritual, to the ceremony where a vessel containing the "sacred water" is placed on a low, long stool. The ritual prayer of Ghaṭ pāt was previously recited at the time of the ceremony but has since dropped out.

The Garbīs make frequent references to the ceremony which then also refers to the sacred water as Paval, signifying "that which purifies". See Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 66, 78, 84, 88 and 90. The Persian term Ab-i-Ṣafā is also used in the Tradition.

A possible source within the Hindu context is the soma, which in the Vedas "denoted the juice of a plant which, extracted and fermented, forms a beverage offered in libations to the deities and drunk by priests...", (See J. Gonda, Change and Continuity in Indian Religion, The Hague: 1965, 38). Here soma is also equated with the moon, and the soma as the divine drink is also called amṛta (Gonda, Change and Continuity, 47). The word amṛta also occurs in the Garbīs in relation to the drinking of the sacred water, and the ceremony of ghaṭ-paṭ is still commemorated among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs of India on the night the new moon is sighted.

The ceremony is certainly very ancient, and as suggested in the gināns, was probably introduced by the early dāʿīs. Not only is the ritual prayer of ghaṭ-pāṭ to be found in the oldest Khōjkī manuscripts, but a form of the ceremony survives even among the Imām Shāhī groups, see Contractor, Pirāṇa Satpanth, 127-129.

[22]For this and other thread ceremonies, see Walker, "Thread Ceremonies", Hindu World, II, 498-501.

[23]The primary Nizārī sources that refer to the great

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n281/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

event are the Haft bāb-i-Bābā Sayyidnā for which see, Hodgson, Order, 299-304, where the relevant portions are transmitted. For a more specific reference to the date and the event, see Abū Isḥāq, Haft-bāb, 41-42, tr.41-42. Also see Kalām-i-Pīr, 65-66, tr.60-61. Hodgson, Order, 148-159, has a good discussion on the significance, from a doctrinal as well as a historical point of view, of this event.

[24] Juvaynī, The History of the World Conquerors, Vol.II, tr. J.A. Boyle, 168-170; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al Tawārīkh, 164-166, where they make reference to the event. In general, both prefer to characterize the Nizārī da'wa as the "New da'wa" in contrast to the "Old da'wa" of the Fāṭimids which continued in Cairo after the schism.

[25] The doctrine, as reflected in Fāṭimid times, has been presented in great detail on the basis of original texts in Zāhid 'Alī, Isnā'īlī mazhab. Though I refer to these original texts where they have been edited and published, I rely for the most part on Zāhid 'Alī and elsewhere on Corbin.

[26] Zāhid 'Alī, Ismā'īlī mazhab, 1-6. Nāṣir-i-Khusrav, writing in Persian, refers to al-'Aql al-Awwal as 'Aql-i-Kull in his works, see for instance, Shish Faṣl, ed. and tr. W. Ivanow (Leiden: 1933), 4-5, tr. 29-30, where he discusses the concept of God and 'Aql-i-Kull. For ibdā', see L.Gardet, "Ibdā'", EI 2, III, 663-665.

[27] The standard scheme is thought to be the one enunciated by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, Rāḥat al-'Aql, ed. Kamil Husayn and Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī (Cairo: 1952), 126ff. See also the table in Zāhid 'Alī, Ismā'īlī mazhar, 4. A slightly different scheme is to be found with Abū Ya'qūb Sijistānī, Kitāb al-yanābī', ed. and tr. by H. Corbin in Trilogie Ismaelienne (Teheran: 1961), text 2-97, tr. 13-127. Note in particular the illustration provided by Corbin on p.79, n.154. Nāṣir-i-Khusrav in his works develops a scheme based on five pre-eternal principles, Shish Faṣl, 34-35, tr.74-75. The Yemenite dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn preserves Kirmānī's scheme, see Husayn

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n282/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Hamdani,"A Compendium of Ismaili Esoterics", IC, XI (1937), 214.

[28] Zāhid 'Alī, Ismā'īlī mazhab, 644, where he provides a table.

[29] For maẓhar, see Corbin, Divine Epiphany, 74, where he defines it as "an epiphanic Form (in the manner of a mirror in which the image is suspended)". Also the point he makes concerning the essential differences between the idea of a maẓhar and that of Incarnation, 116-117, an idea central to the understanding of the Ismā'īlī doctrine of Imāma, where the idea of ḥulūl, i.e. incarnation, is expressly rejected. See also p.104 where there is a table illustrating the correspondence between the various "universes".

[30] Zāhid 'Alī, Ismā'īlī mazhab, 58-62. On p.63, he gives a table. See also Corbin, Divine Epiphany, 106-107.

[31] For the doctrine of the Qiyāma in Ismā'īlism and the role of the Qā'im, as it became exemplified in the figure of the seventh Imām Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, see Zāhid 'Alī, Ismā'īlī maẓhab, 125-130 and generally 136ff.
See also Hodgson, Order, 153ff.

[32] See the table in Corbin, Divine Epiphany, 106.

[33] Hodgson, Order, 156, 167-169.

[34] Abū Isḥāq, Haft-bāb, 41, tr. 41.

[35] See A.J. Wensinck, Muslim Creed (London: 1965), 88-90, where he discussed al-Ash'arī's arguments concerning the problem.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n283/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[36]Abū Isḥāq, Haft-bāb, 40, tr. 41, where the author quotes the alleged words of Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihī al-Salām.

[37]For the revised system of correspondence see, Corbin, "Symboles Choisis de le'Rosaire du mystere'" in Trilogie Ismaélienne, 60, where he sets out the contrast between the Fāṭimid and the Nizārī hierarchies in a table.
For the Imām as the epiphany of the Amr or Kalima and the new role of the ḥujja, see Corbin, Divine Epiphany, 129-133.

[38]Hodgson, Order, 292, where he comments upon the use of the term in the Haft-bāb-i-Bābā Sayyidnā. See also p.230 where he gives a table showing the transformation of the wāqīs into the Imām-Qāʿim figures.

[39]Hodgson, Order, 66. This doctrine of the constant battle between the Prophets and their enemies is stated in Ṭūsī, Rawḍat al-Taslīm, 102, tr. 51.

[40]Hodgson, Order, 323.

[41]Literally the "Ten Descents".

[42]See, for instance, Howard, Shia School, 76-78; Mujtaba ʿAlī, Origin of the Khojāhs, 42, and Ahmad, Intellectual History, 24.

[43]See Appendix II.

[44]Catalogue, Index II, according to which the version attributed to Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn is to be found in 24 manuscipts.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n284/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[45] J. Gonda, Aspects of Early Viṣnuism (Utrecht: 1954), 124ff; Alain Daniélou, Hindu Polytheism (New York: 1964), 164-181, and Mukherjee, Study of Vaishanavism, 207-219, where the doctrine is discussed.

[46] Danielou, Hindu Polytheism, 166-181, provides the full list and Mukherjee, Study of Vaishanavism, 211-217 discusses the images of the avatāras as they are found in inscriptions.

[47] One of the versions of the Dasa Avatāra in the gināns, also preserved among the Imām Shāhīs, has been translated as part of a very recent thesis, see Gulshan Khakee, The Dasa Avatara of the Satpanthi Ismailis and Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan (Ph.D. thesis submitted to Harvard University, 1972). I have, in view of its very recent submission been unable to refer to the thesis.

[48] Walker, "Aeon", Hindu World, I, 6-8.

[49] Ibid.; see also M. Eliade, "Time and Eternity in Indian Thought", in Man and Time (New York: 1957), 177ff.

[50] Eliade, Time and Eternity, 177-178.

[51] For Kalpa, see Walker, Aeon, 6; Eliade, Time and Eternity, 179, and A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India (New York: 1959), 320-321.

[52] For the concept of Iblīs in the Islamic tradition, see A. Wensinck, "Iblīs", EI 2, III, 668-669.

[53] See Ṭūsī, Rawḍat al-Taslīm, 102, tr.151.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n285/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[54] Basham, The Wonder that was India, 301, where he cites the relevant verse from the Bhagvad Gītā, which illustrates the doctrine of a continuous "descent" to establish the "Sacred Law".

[55] Walker, "Kalki", Hindu World, I, 512. In the Tradition, the name changed to Nakla'ki (Sanskrit: niṣkalaṅka) meaning "blemishless". Obviously this is an echo of the standard Shī'ī doctrine of the Imām being ma'sūm.

[56] For this ginān, see Appendix II. I am using the text found in Catalogue, MS.48, fols.295-317.

[57] Kalinga is the evil spirit of the present Kali Yuga, see Dowson, "Kali", Dictionary, 141-142.

[58] Buddha Avatāra, vss.315-320, and 462-465. There is remarkable similarity in motifs in both the Hindu doctrine of the tenth avatāra and the Shī'ī concept of the Mahdī who is to come at the end of the world to redeem mankind. The motifs relate to the white horse that the figure will be riding and to his battle with the forces of evil symbolized in Iblīs or Kali and the eventual triumph and subsequent era of peace and goodwill. Refer to Walker, Kalki, 512 and to C. Pellet, "Dul-Dul", EI 2; II, 624.

The Buddha Avatāra, vs.513, refers to 'Alī riding the horse Dul-Dul.

For the concept of the Mahdī in Islamic tradition in general, see S.M. Ḥasan, Al-Mahdīya fī al-Islām (Cairo: 1954), and D.S. Margoliouth, On Mahdis and Mahdism (London: 1915).

[59] The phrase is Corbin's, Histoire, 124, where he refers to it as "Le drame dans le Ciél", and also "Le temps cyclique dans le Mazdéisme et dans l'Ismaélisme", Eranos-Jahrbuch, 20 (1951), 149-217, translated as "Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism", Man and Time, 115-172. The reference to the "drama in heaven" will be found on p.151 of the translation.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n286/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[60]For these gināns, see Appendix II.
The version of Mōman Chetvarṇi I am using will be found in Catalogue, MS.74, fols. 341-400. There are two incomplete and differing version of the Gāyatrī in MS.25, fols.153-190 and 302-305. See also MS.38, fols.57-60 and MS.68, fols 345-376, where apparently fuller versions are given. Owing to discrepancies in the various versions concerning the numbering of the verses, I am not citing the exact verses in the account offered below.

[61]These, according to Shī'ī tradition, are the Ahl al-Kisā', referred to in the Qur'ān verses (33:33). See also A.S. Tritton, "Ahl al-Kisā'", EI 2, I, 264. For the reference in Umm al-Kitāb, see Umm al-Kitāb, 102-103 of the text edited by Ivanow.

[62]See R.C. Zaehner, Hinduism (London: 1966), 40-41; A.D. Pusalker, Studies in Epics and Purānas (Bombay: 1953), 45 and L. Renou, Hinduism (New York: 1963), 45-46 where the hymn is translated.

[63]Zaehner, Hinduism, 43.

[64]Pusalker, Epics and Purānas, 47, where he also gives a translation of the relevant portion.

[65]Ibid., 48. Zaehner, Hinduism, 49-50.

[66]Pusalker, Epics and Purānas, 54.

[67]For the doctrine of cosmogony in the Purāṇas and particularly the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Ibid., 66ff. and also Hans Penner, "Cosmogony as Myth in the Vishnu Purāṇa", History of Religions, IV-V (1964-1966), 283-299.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n287/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[68] Penner, Cosmogony, 299.

[69] The doctrine of the kalima is also found in other gināns, notably a short ginān attributed to Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn and found in MS.25, fols.271-274. In vs.10, the understanding of the symbol of the kalima becomes the key to paradise, without this key paradise cannot be attained.

[70] See M. Eliade, "Spirit, Light and Seed", History of Religions, XI (1971), 3.

[71] For Sarsvatī, see Renou, Hindu Polytheism, 259; and Section Three for reference to the three gods, Vishnu, Brahamā and Śiva.

[72] For Trimūrti, see Walker, "God", Hindu World, I, 395, and S. Bhattacharji, Hindu Theogony (Cambridge: 1970), Ch.18.

[73] Bhattacharji, Indian Theogony, 358.

[74] In the Gāyatrī, they occur towards the end of the ginān and in the Du'ā in Part 4 of the printed text (Published by Lalj Devraj, Bombay: 1915) which I have collated with the manuscript copies.

[75] See for instance the genealogy of Muḥammad given in The Life of Muḥammad (London: 1955).
See also Zāhid 'Alī, Ismā'īlī mazhab, 63ff., where he discusses the importance attached to the immediate ancestors of the Prophet and of 'Alī.

[76] These four kalpas are called, Jayelā, Faelā, Araṇā

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n288/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and Khalifā, and the total number of patras is given as seventy-seven.

[77]Ivanow, Brief Survey, 60.

[78]Corbin, Divine Epiphany, 129.

[79]Ṭūsī, Rawḍat al-Taslīm, 90, tr.132.

[80]Shanākht-i-Imām, 21, tr.36.

[81]See Garbī 10, vs.16, in Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 66. See also Catalogue, MS.25, fol.254, where there is a short ginān which equates Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and Muḥammad (vss.21-22). Also fol.298 of the same manuscript in another short ginān (vs.22).

[82]Garbī 16, in Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 71-73.

[83]See Sīrat al-Mu'ayyadīya, 85-86 for an intimation of his emotional state when he was in the presence of the Imām.

[84]See W. Ivanow, Problems in Nasir-i-Khusraw's Biography (Bombay: 1956), 22-36, where he gives translated excerpts of Nāṣir's poetry dealing with this theme.

[85]Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, 137, no.694, where he refers to this still unedited work.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n289/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[86] Abū Ishāq, Haft-bāb, 4-9, tr.4-9.

[87] Kalām-i-Pīr, 11-17, tr.5-11.

[88] Nāṣir-i-Khusrav, Shish Faṣl, 37, tr.78.

[89] Here is implied the Hindu concept of Moksha, i.e. deliverance and final emancipation from the bondage of existence, see Zaehner, Hinduism, 57ff.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Satveṇiji Vel, stanzas 74-77.

[92] Catalogue, MS.58, fols.182-185.

[93] For pilgrimage in Hindu tradition, see Walker, "Pilgrimage", Hindu World, II, 212-214.

[94] This is most certainly an echo of the concept of the "sinless", i.e. ma'sūm, nature of the Imāms.

[95] This ginān occurs in a number of manuscripts. I am using the oldest text in Catalogue, MS.70, copied in S.1904 (1847). The folios are not numbered.

[96] This is supposed to be the smaller version in the same style as Sloka Vadō, and the text in the manuscript is an even older copy [S.1858 (1801)] than the larger version, Catalogue, MS.48, fols. 281-290. The verse cited is vs.4.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n290/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[97]Śloka Nandhō, vs.15.

[98]Ibid., vs.19.

[99]Strelka, Literary Symbolism, 18.

[100]For the similarity in some motifs that the gināns cited above show with the literature of Bhaktī, see Vaudeville, Kabīr, 193,196.

[101]Corbin, Histoire, 149.

[102]Corbin, Le Rosaire du Mystère, 19-20. For Ivanow's views, see his article "Sufism and Ismailism: Chiragh-Nama", Revue Iranienne d'Anthropologie, 3 (1959), 13-17.

[103]Corbin, Le Rosaire du Mystere, provides the text and a commentary together with a detailed commentary.

[104]Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, 138.

[105]Ibid.,131, 138.

[106]Ibid, 148, where the case of the fortieth Imām, Shāh Nizār, is cited as an example.

[107]See Ivanow's Introduction to the Dīwān-i-Khākī Khurāsānī, 7-9.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n291/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[108] For a definition, in the context of sūfism, see L. Gardet, "A'lām", EI 2, 350-351. H.Corbin, Creative Imagination in the Sūfism of Abu 'Arabī (London: 1969), Part Two, applies such a concept to analyze the mystical theosophy of Ibn 'Arabi. For an almost like use of the concept in European literatures see, G. Bachelard, On Poetic Imagination and Reverie, tr. with an Introduction by C. Gaudin (New York: 1971), Introduction, xxvi-xxvii. Also M. Bowra, The Romantic Imagination (New York: 1961), Ch.I. C. Jung prefers the term "visionary" as applicable to such works which he called "psychological" works, see M. Jacoby, "Analytical Psychology of Jung and the Problem of literary evaluation", in Problems of Literary Evaluation, 114-116.

[109] In helping to define and clarify the concept for myself as well as for the many ideas that follow concerning the mysticism of the gināns, I am indebted to Dr. Aziz Esmail of the University of Nairobi for the many long converstions I had with him on the subject. Unfortunately I was unable to consult his Doctoral thesis submitted to Edinburgh University, Scotland in 1971, which is concerned on the whole with the problem of the nature of religious experience.

[110] These verses occur in the ginān Chandrabhāṇ; Notes to Part One, n.134 and Appendix II. The verses cited are vss.2-3.

[111] Garbī 8, vss.1-6, in Hooda, Satpanth Literature, 63. I have, however, tried to provide a more literal translation on the basis of the text of the Garbīs in Catalogue, MS.81.

[112] Corbin, Divine Epiphany, 71

[113] Ibid., quoting from a post-Fāṭimid text.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n292/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[114] Ibid., 123.

[115] Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh, Risāla dar Haqīqāt-i-Dīn, 74.

[116] This is another ginān called Satveṇi (since this version is a longer one it is also called Satveṇi Vadi). A number of copies exist in the manuscript, none of which are particularly ancient; the one I have used is in Catalogue, MS.32, fols.1-223. The verse cited is vs.219.

[117] As examples here, may be cited two gināns that deal specifically with religious experiences:
1) Brahma Prakāsh (Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no.807),
2) Buj Niranjan (Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, no.817).

[118] Ivanow, I think, reflected this attitude in much of his work related to the "esoteric" elements of Ismā'īlism. In reference to this see the remarks of Hodgson, Order, 31-32. I also feel that Ivanow modified some of his views later on, particularly in the article cited above in n.102, - though he continued to deprecate the effects of ṣūfism in Nizārī Ismā'īlī literature. In this connection, see his Ismaili Literature, 182-184.

[119] Lewis, Assassins, 138.

[120] Two examples, in modern-day scholarship, are Ahmad, Islamic Culture, 160-161 and Mujib, Indian Muslims, 12-13.

[121] Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization, ed. by G.E. Von Grunebaum (Chicago: 1955), 8. The question incidentally was raised at that time by Bernard Lewis.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n293/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[122] Ivanow, Satpanth, 21.

[123] For arguments against the use of such terms, see W.M. Watt, "The Study of the Development of the Islamic Sects", in Acta Orientalia Neerlandica (Leiden: 1971), 90-91, and J. Taylor, "An approach to the emergence of heterodoxy in Medieval Islam", Religious Studies, 2 (1966-67), 197-209.

[124] R.C. Zaehner, Hindu and Muslim Mysticism (London: 1960), Ch. V, in particular, is typical of the sort of work that continues to hinder a clear understanding of mystical movements, in their obsessive search for origins. See also in this connection some relevant remarks by H.A.R. Gibb, "Pre-Islamic Monotheism in Arabia", The Harvard Theological Review, LV, IV (Oct.1962), 269ff.

[125] McLeod, Gurū Nānak, 158-161, and White, Sufism in Hindi Literature, 114-132.

[126] Corbin, Le Livre Réunissant, 17.

[127] I borrow the term from M.Hodgson, "Islam and Image", History of Religions, III (1963-64), 230. Elsewhere in the article he makes some extremely relevant remarks on the contrast between the esoteric symbolism of the Ismā'īlī movement and the so-called aridity of the sharī'a-minded Islam.

[128] An attempt has been made to define the subject matter of intellectual history. See H. Stuart Hughes, Consciousness and Society (New York: 1958), Ch.I. He also discusses levels in intellectual history as being "higher" or "lower". Popular ideas and folklore, he includes in the latter level, and in his words "what has seeped down" from the first level after a generation or two of "cultural lag".

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n294/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

[129] This phrase is applied to Ismā'īlī literature on the Sub-continent by Ahmad, Intellectual History, 126.

[130] See the discussion by J. Willis, "The Historiography of Islam in Africa: The Last Decade (1960-1970)", African Studies Review, Vol.XIV, no.3 (Dec. 1971), 403-424.

[131] Anne Marie Schimmel has done much work to establish a place for Sindhi folk poetry in the context of Indo-Muslim literature.

[132] Lewis, Origins of Ismailism, Ch.IV, which has some relevant remarks on the issue, but the book has on the whole become outdated, (and Lewis has revised many of his earlier views in more recent publications on Ismā'īlism, see for example his Assassins, 134-136.

[133] See H. Papanek, Leadership and Social Change in the Khoja Ismaili Community (Ph.D. thesis submitted to Harvard University, 1962); S. Walji, Ismailis of Mainland Tanzania (M.A. thesis submitted to the University of Wisconsin, 1969); H. Morris, Indians in Uganda (London: 1968), Ch.6; and an article of mine on the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs of East Africa in Essays on Religion in Africa, N.Q. King ed., to be published soon.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n295/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

BIBLIOGRAPHY

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n296/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

BIBLIOGRAPHY

** Note: Since the ginans used in the thesis have already been listed in Appendix II, they are not included in the following Bibliography.

Abrams, M.H. The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1958.

Abū Firās, Shihāb al-Dīn. Al-Shāfī'iya. Edited and translated by S.N. Makarem. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1966.

----------. Manāqib al-Mawlā Rashīd al-Dīn, translated with an Introduction (Un Grand Maître des Assassins au Temps de Saladin) by M. Stanislaus Guyard. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1877.

Acta Orientalia Neerlandica, Proceedings of the Congress of the Dutch Oriental Society. Edited by P.W. Pestman. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971.

Ahmad, Aziz. An Intellectual History of Islam in India. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1969.

---------- Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

----------. "The Sufi and the Sultan in pre-Mughal India". Der Islam, XXXVIII (1962), 142-153.

Ahmad, Maqbul, et.al. "Hind", EI 2, LII, 1967.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n297/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Ahmad, Maqbul, "Commercial Relations of India with the Arab World", IC, XXXVIII (1964), 9-14.

----------. Indo-Arab Relations. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1969.

Ajwani, L.H. History of Sindhi Literature. New Delhi: Sahitaya Akademi, 1970.

Akhtar, Ahmadmian. "Shams Tabrīzī - Was he Ismailian?", IC, X (1936), 131-136.

'Alī Kūfī. Chachnāma. Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad (Sind), 1954.

'Alī, Muḥammad Khān. Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī. Edited by S. Nawab Ali. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1928. Translated by M.F. Lokhandwala. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1965.

----------. Khātima Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī. Edited by S. Nawab Ali. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1930. Translated by Nawab Ali and C.N. Seddon. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1928.

Ali, Shaykh Sadiq. A Short Sketch of Musulman Races found in Sind, Baluchistan and Afghanistan. Revised edition. Karachi: Government Press, 1954.

Ali, Syed Mujtaba. The Origin of the Khojāhs and their Religious Life today. Wurzburg: Buchdruckerei Richard Mayr, 1936.

Allana, Gulam Ali. The Arabic Element in Sindhi. M.A. thesis submitted to the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1963.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n298/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Allana, G. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, the Story of a Nation. Lahore: Feerozsons and Co., 1967.

Arberry, A.C.J. Sufism. London: Allen and Unwin, 1950.

Arnold, Sir Thomas. The Preaching of Islam. Lahore: Ashraf Publications, 1956.

Bachelard, G. On Poetic Imagination and Reverie. Translated by Collete Gaudin. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1971.

Ba'dī az ta'wīlāt-i-Gulshan-i-Rāz. Edited and translated by H. Corbin in Trilogie Ismaélienne. Teheran: Institute Franco-Iranien, 1961.

Al-Baghdādī, Abū Mansūr. Al-Farq bayn al-Firāq. Translated as Moslem Schisms and Sects by A.S. Halkin. Tel Aviv, 1935.

Barth, A. The Religions of India. Translated by J. Wood. 6th edition. Delhi: Chand, 1969.

Banton, M., ed. Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion. London: Tavistock Publications, 1966.

Basham, A.L. The Wonder that was India. New York: Grove Press, 1959.

Beaurline, L.A., ed. A Mirror for Modern Scholars. New York: The Odyssey Press, 1966.

Beattie, J. Other Cultures. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n299/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Bharati, A. The Tantric Tradition. London: Rider and Co., 1965.

Bhattachariji, S. The Indian Theogony. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Al-Bīrūnī, Muhammad b. Ahmad. Kitāb al-Hind. Edited by E. Sachau. London: Trubner and Co., 1887. Alberuni's India, an English edition with notes and indices by E. Sachau, 2 vols. London: Trubner and Co., 1888.

Bosworth, C.E. The Ghaznavids. Edinburgh: At the University Press, 1963.

----------. "Ghaznawids", EI 2, 1965.

Bowra, Sir C.M. The Romantic Imagination. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.

----------. The Heritage of Symbolism. London: MacMillan and Co., 1943.

Bryson, L., et al. Symbols and Values, an initial Study. Thirteenth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1964.

Burnes, A. Travels into Bokhara. 3 vols. 2nd edition. London, 1835.

Burnes, J. Narrative of a visit to the Court of Sinde. Edinburgh, 1831.

Burton-Page, J. "Gudjarāt", EI 2, II, 1965.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n300/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Canard, M. "Da'wa", EI 2, II, 1965.

----------. "Fāṭimids", EI 2, II, 1965.

----------. "L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propaganda", AIEO, 6 (1942-47), 156-193.

Cassirer, E. Language and Myth. Translated by S.K. Langer. New York: Dover Publications, 1946.

Chunara, A.J. Noorum Mubin. Revised by Jafferali Mohamed Sufi. Third edition. Bombay: Ismailia Association for India, 1951.

Contractor, Narayanji. Pirāṇa Satpanth ni Pōl. Ahmedabad: Published by the author, 1926.

Corbin, H. "Epiphanie divine et naissance spirituelle dans la Gnose Ismaélienne", Eranos-Jahrbuch, XXIII (1955), 182. Translated as "Divine Epiphany and Spiritual Birth in Ismailian Gnosis", in Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks, Vol.5, Bollinger series, XXX. New York: Pantheon Books, 1964.

----------. En Islam Iranién, I. Paris: Gallimard, 1971.

----------. "Hermeneutique spirituelle comparée", Eranos-Jahrbuch, XXXIII (1964), 71-176.

----------. "Le temps cyclique dans le Mazdéisme et dans l'Ismaélisme", Eranos-Jahrbuch, XX (1951), 149-217. Translated as "Cyclical Time in Mazdaism

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n301/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

and Ismailism" in Papers from the Eranos-Yearbooks, Vol.3, Bollinger series, XXX. New York: Pantheon Books, 1957.

Corbin, H. Trilogie Ismaélienne. Teheran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1961.

----------. Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi. Translated by R. Mannheim. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970.

Crooke, W. An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India. Allahbad: Government Press, 1894.

Culley, R.C. "An Approach to the Problem of Oral Tradition", Vetus Testamentum, XIII (1963), 113-125.

Cunningham, A. Book of Indian Eras, with Tables for calculating Indian dates. Varansi: Indological Book House, 1970.

Dachraoui, F. "Contribution a l'histoire des Fātimides en Ifrīqiya", Arabica, 8 (1961), 189-237.

----------: "Les Commencements de la Prediction Ismā'ēlienne en Ifrīqiya", Studia Islamica, XX (1964), 89-102.

Dani, A.H. Indian Paleography. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Danielou, A. The Ragas of Northern Indian Music. London: Barrie and Rockcliff, 1968.

----------. Hindu Polytheism. New York: Pantheon Books, 1964.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n302/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Darghawalla, Syed Sadruddin. Tawārīkh-i-Pīr. Navsari: Published by the author, 1914.

Dasgupta, S. Hindu Mysticism. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1927.

De, S.K. Sanskrit Poetics. Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960.

----------. Sanskrit Poetics as a Study of Aesthetic. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963.

Devraj, Lalji. Tapsil Book. 2nd edition. Bombay: Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1915.

----------, ed. Tarbiyate Duā. Bombay: Khoja Sindhi Printing Press, 1915.

Al-Dihlavī, 'Abd al-Haqq. Akhbār al-Akhyār fī Asrār al-Abrār. Delhi, 1891.

Dīwān-i-Khākī Khurāsānī. Edited by W. Ivanow. Bombay: Islamic Research Association, 1933.

Donaldson, D.M. The Shī'ite Religion; A History of Islam in Persia and Irak. London: Luzac, 1933.

Dowson, John. A Classical dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature. 10th edition. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.

Durveshali, Syed Kasim Ali. Satpanth Shāstra. Garhkampa: Laljibhai Nanjibhai, 1954.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n303/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

L'Elaboration de l'Islam. (Colloque de Strasbourg, Juin, 1959). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961.

Eliade, M. Myth and Reality. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

----------. "Spirit, Light and Seed", History of Religions, XI, no.1 (August, 1971), 1-30.

----------. "Time and Eternity in Indian Thought", in Papers from the Eranos-Yearbooks, Vol.3, Bollingen series, New York, 1957.

----------. Yoga, Immortality and Freedom. Translated by W.H. Trask. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958.

Elliot, Sir H.M. and Dowson, J. The History of India as told by its own historians. Vols.I, II and III. London: Trubner and Co., 1871.

Encyclopaedia of Islam. Old Edition. London: Luzac and Co., 1913-1938.

Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960-

Enthoven, R.E. The Tribes and Castes of Bombay, Vol.II. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1922.

Epigraphica Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement. Edited by Z.A. Desai. New Delhi: Department of Archeology of India, 1961.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n304/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Evidence Taken on behalf of the First Defendant in the High Court of Judicature at Bombay; Suit no.729 of 1905. Bombay: Payne and Associates, 1908.

Faḍl Allāh, Rashīd al-Dīn. Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh, (Section relating to the History of the Ismā'īlīs). Edited by Muḥammad Dānesh Pazūh and Muḥammad Mudarrasī. Teheran: B.T.N.K., 1960.

Fakhri, M. A History of Islamic Philosophy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

Fazalullah, K.B. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IX, part 2. General Editor, Sir John Campbell. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1899.

Finnegan, R. Oral Literature in Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Firishta, Muḥammad Qāsim. Ta'rīkh-i-Firishta. Translated as The Rise of Mahomedan Power in India, by John Briggs. 4 vols. Calcutta:1910.

Frere, Sir Bartle. "The Khojas: The Disciples of the Old Man of the Mountain", Macmillans Magazine, XXXIV (1876), 342-350 and 430-438.

Futūḥāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī. Edited by S.A. Rashid. Aligarh, 1954.

Fyzee, A.A. "Bohorās", EI 2, I, 1960.

----------. Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n305/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Owing to a typing error this page has not been used.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n306/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Fyzee, A.A. "Imām Shāh", EI 2, III, 1971.

----------. "Qādi anNu'mān, the Fatimid Jurist and Author", JRAS (1934), 1-32.

Gardet, L. "'Ālam", EI 2, I, 1960.

----------. "Ibdā'", EI 2, III, 1971.

Gangoly, O.C: Ragas and Raginis. Bombay: Nalanda Publications, 1948.

Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India. Benares, 1967.

Ghālib, Muṣṭafā. A'lām al-Ismā'īlīya. Beirut: Dār al-Yaqza al-'Arabiyya, 1964.

Gibb, H.A.R. "Agha Khān", EI 2, I, 1960.

----------. Studies on the Civilization of Islam. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

----------. "Pre-Islamic Monotheism in Arabia", The Harvard Theological Review, LV, IV (Oct., 1962), 260-280.

Goitein, S.D. Studies in Islamic History and Institutions. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966.

----------. "From the Mediterranean to India", Speculum, XXIX (1954), 181-197.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n307/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Goitein, S.D. "The Cairo Geniza as a source for the history of Muslim civilization", SI, III (1955), 75-91.

Gonda, J. Aspects of Early Visnuism. Utrecht: N.V.A. Oosthoek's Vitgevers Mij, 1954.

----------. Change and Continuity in Indian Religion. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1965.

----------. Visnuism and Sivaism: A Comparison. London: Athlane Press, 1970.

Habibullah, A.M. The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India. 2nd revised edition. Allahbad: Central Book Depot, 1961.

Haft-bāb-i-Bābā Sayyidnā. Edited by W. Ivanow in Two Early Ismaili Treatises. Bombay: Islamic Research Association, 1933, 2-42.

Haimendorf, C. Von. "The Historical Value of Indian Bardic Literature", Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Edited by C.H. Phillips. London: Oxford University Press, 1961, 87-93.

Al-Hamdani, Abbas. The Beginnings of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa in Northern India. Cairo: Sirovic, 1965.

----------. "The Fatimid-'Abbāsid Conflict in India", IC, XLI (1967), 185-191.

----------. "Some considerations of the Fāṭimid Caliphate as a Mediterranean Power", Atti Del Terzo Congresso Di Studi Arabi e Islamici. Napoli, 1967, 385-396.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n308/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Al-Hamdani, Husayn. "History of the Ismā'īlī Da'wat and its Literature during the last phase of the Fatimid Empire", JRAS (1932), 126-136.

----------. "The Letters of al-Mustansir billah", BSOAS, VII (1933-35), 307-324.

----------. "The life and times of Queen Saiyidah Arwā, the Sulayhid of the Yemen", JRCAS, XVIII (1961), 505-517.

----------. "A Compendium of Ismā'īlī Esoterics", IC, 11 (1937), 210-220.

----------. Al-Ṣulayḥīyūn wa-al-ḥaraka al-Fāṭimīya fī al-Yaman. Cairo: 1955.

Hammer-Purgstall, J. von. The History of the Assassins, derived from Oriental sources. Translated from the German by Oswal Charles Wood. London: Smith and Elder, 1835.

Hardy, P. Historians of Medieval India. London: Luzac and Co., 1960.

----------. "Some Studies in Pre-Mughal Muslim Historiography", in Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Edited by C.H. Phillips. London: Oxford University Press, 1961, 115-127.

----------. "Dihlī Sultanate", EI 2, II 1965.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n309/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Ḥasan Dihlawī. Favā'id al-Fu'ād. Lakhnau: Matba'-i-Nivalkishōr, 1312/1894.

Hasan, Mohibbul. Kashmir Under the Sultans. Calcutta: Iran Society, 1959.

Ḥasan, S.M. Mahdīya fī al-Islām. Miṣr, 1953.

Al-Hidāya al-Āmirīyya. Edited by A.A. Fyzee. Calcutta: The Islamic Research Association, 1938.

Hodgson, M.G.S. "Alamūt", EI 2, I, 1960.

----------. "Dā'ī", EI 2, II, 1965.

----------. "Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ", EI 2, III, 1971.

----------. "Islam and Image", History of Religions, III (1963-64), 220-260.

----------. "The Ismā'īlī State", in The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.5, ed., J.A. Boyle. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968, 422-482.

----------. The Order of Assassins. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1955.

Hollister, J. The Shi'a of India. London: Luzac, 1953.

Howard, E.I. The Shia School of Islam and its branches especially that of the Imamee Ismailies; a speech delivered in the Bombay High Court in June 1866. Bombay: Education Society, 1895.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n310/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Hughes, H.S. Consciousness and Society. New York: Mentor Books, 1958.

Al-Hujwīrī, ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān. The Kashf al-Mahjūb. Translated by R.A. Nicholson. London: Luzac and Co., 1911.

Hultzsch, E. "A grant of Arjunadeva of Gujarat dated 1264 A.D.", Indian Antiquary, XI (1882), 241-245.

Husain, Yusuf. "The Influence of Islam on the cult of Bhakti in Medieval India", IC, VII (1933), 640-662.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Vol.III. Translated by H.A.R. Gibb. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1971.

Ibn Hawqal. Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ. Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1963.

Al-Idrīsī, al-Sharīf. India and the Neighboring Territories in the Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fi' khtirāq al-Āfāq. Translated by S. Maqbul Ahmad. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960.

Ikram, S.M. History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan. Lahore: Star Book Depot, 1961.

Islam, Riazul. "Fīrūz Shāh Tughluk", EI 2, II, 1965.

Ibn Isḥaq. The Life of Muhammad, a translation of Isḥāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh with Introduction and Notes by A. Guillaume. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n311/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Al-Iṣṭakhrī, Abū Isḥāq. Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik. Edited by M. DeGoeje, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927.

Ivanow, W. Alamut and Lamasar. Teheran: The Ismaili Society, 1960.

----------. Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952.

---------- and others, ed. Collectanea, I. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948.

----------. A Creed of the Fatimids. Bombay: Qayyimah Press, 1936.

----------. Ismailitica, I and II. (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), VII (1922), 1-76.

----------. "An Ismaili Interpretation of Gulshan-i-Raz", JBBRAS, VII (1932), 69-78.

----------. Ismaili Literature, a Bibliographical Survey. 2nd edition. Teheran: The Ismaili Society, 1963.

----------. "A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis", JRAS (1938), 57-79.

----------. "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda", JBBRAS, XV (1939), 1-35.

----------. Problems in Nasir-i-Khusraw's Biography. 2nd edition. Bombay: The Ismaili Society, 1956.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n312/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Ivanow, W. "Satpanth", Collectanea, Vol.I (1948), 1-54.

----------. "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat", JBBRAS, XII (1936), 19-70.

----------. Studies in Early Persian Ismailism. Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1955.

----------. "Shams Tabriz of Multan" in Professor Muhammad Shafi Presentation Volume. Edited by S.M. Abdullah. Lahore: Majlis-e-Armughan-e-Ilmi, 1955, 109-118.

----------. "Sufism and Ismailism: Chiragnama", Revue Iranien d'Anthropologie, III (1959), 13-17.

----------. "Notes sur l'Ummu'l-Kitab des Ismailiens de l'Asie Centrale", Revue des Etudes Islamiques, VI (1932), 419-481.

----------. "Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams", JBBRAS, XIV (1938), 49-62.

----------. The Rise of the Fatimids. London: Oxford University Press, 1942.

Izutsu, T. "The Archetypal Image of Chaos in Chuang Tau", Anagogic Qualities of Literature. Edited by J. Strelka. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

Jacoby, M. "The Analytical Psychology of C.G. Jung and the Problem of Literary Evaluation", in Problems of Literary Evaluation. Edited by J. Strelka. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1969.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n313/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Jahn, Von Karl. "The Yugas of the Indians in Islamic Historiography", Der Islam, 33-34 (1957-59), 127-134.

----------. "On the mythology and Religion of the Indians in the medieval Muslim Tradition", Mélanges d'Orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé. Teheran: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1963, 185-197.

Jafri, S. Razia. "Description of India (Hind and Sind) in the works of al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hauqal and al-Maqdisī", Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies: Aligarh University, V (1961), 1-67.

James, W. The Varieties of Religious Experiences. London: Fontana Books, 1960.

Jāmī, . Nafaḥāt al-Uns. Teheran, 1918.

Jhaveri, Dewan Bahadur. "A Legendary history of the Bohoras", JBBRAS, IX (1935), 37-52.

Joshi, S.H. A Critical Edition of Jñānagīta of Narhari. Ph.D. thesis submitted to M.S. University of Baroda, 1960.

Juvaynī, 'Atā' Mālik. The History of the World Conquerors, Vol.II. Translated by J.A. Boyle. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958.

al-Jūzjānī, Sirāj al-Dīn. Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī. (A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia). Translated by H.G. Raverty, 2 Vols. London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1881.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n314/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Kaufman, W. The Ragas of North India. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968.

Keay, F.E. Kabīr and his followers. Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1931.

Kellog, S.H. A Grammar of the Hindi Language. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1938.

Khakee, Gulshan. The Dasa Avatara of the Satpanthi Ismailis and Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan. Ph.D. thesis submitted to Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literature, Harvard University, 1972.

Khan, F.A. Banbhore. Karachi: Department of Archeology and Museums, 1969.

Khayr-Khwāh-i-Harātī. Fasl dar Bayān-i-sharākht-i-Imām. Edited by W. Ivanow. 3rd edition. Teheran: Ismaili Society, 1960. Translated by W. Ivanow as On the Recognition of the Imam. Bombay: The Ismaili Society, 1947.

----------. Kalām-i-Pīr. Edited and translated by W. Ivanow. Bombay: Islamic Research Association, 1935.

----------. Tasnīfāt. Edited by W. Ivanow. Teheran: The Ismaili Society, 1961.

Kirk, G.S., ed. The Language and Background of Homer. Cambridge: Heffner and Sons, 1964.

----------. Myth, its meaning and functions in ancient and other cultures. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n315/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Al-Kirmānī. Ḥamīd al-Dīn. Rāḥat al-'Aql. Edited by M. Kāmil Husayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1953.

Kitagwa, Joseph, ed. The History of Religions. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

----------, ed. Myths and Symbols. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Lambrick, H.T. Sind, A General Introduction. Hyderabad, Sind: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1964.

Leach, E. The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism. London: Tavistock Publications, 1967.

----------. Levi Strauss. London: Fontana Books, 1970.

Lee Nostrand, H. "Theme Analysis in the Study of Literature", Problems of Literary Evaluation. Edited by J. Strelka. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1969.

Lévi-Strauss, C. The Savage Mind. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966.

----------. The Raw and the Cooked. New York: Harper and Row, 1969.

Lewis, Bernard. The Assassins. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967.

----------. "The Fatimids and the Route to India", Revue de la Faculté des Sciences économiques de l'Université d'Istanbul, XIV (1953), 50-54.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n316/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Lewis, Bernard. "Ismā'īlī Notes", BSOAS, XII (1948), 597-600.

----------. The Origins of Ismā'īlism. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1940.

Lewis, I.M., ed. History and Social Anthropology. London: Tavistock Publications, 1968.

Lord, A.B. The Singer of Tales. New York: Atheneum Books, 1970.

Macdonell, A.M. Vedic Mythology. Strasbourg: Trubner and Co., 1896.

---------- and Keith, A.B. Vedic Index of Names and Subjects. 2 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1967.

Madelung, W. "Fatimiden und Bahrainqarmaten", Der Islam, XXXIV (1959), 34-88.

----------. "Das Imamat in der frühen ismailischen lehre", Der Islam, XXXVII (1961), 43-135.

----------. "Hakā'ik", EI 2, III, 1969.

----------. "Imāma", EI 2, III, 1971.

Madhukant, V.D. A Critical Study of Old Gujarati Rāsā. Ph.D. thesis submitted to University of Bombay, 1960.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n317/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Mahar, J. Michael. India - A Critical Bibliography. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1964.

Majumdar, R.C., ed. The Age of Imperial Kanauj. The History and Culture of the Indian Peoples Series, Vol.4. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955.

----------, ed. The Struggle for Empire. The History and Culture of the Indian Peoples Series, Vol.5. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1957.

----------, ed. The Delhi Sultanate. The History and Culture of the Indian Peoples Series, Vol.6. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960.

Majumdar, R.C. Cultural History of Gujarat. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1965.

Malcolm, Sir John. History of Persia, Vol.I. London: John Murray, 1815.

Margoliouth, D.S. On Mahdis and Mahdism. Offprint, Proceedings of the British Academy, VII (1915-1916). London, British Academy, 1916, 213-233.

Al-Mas'ūdī, . Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar, Vol.I. Beirut: Publications de l'Université Libanaise, 1965.

Mazumdar, B.P. Socio-Economic History of Northern India (1030-1194 A.D.). Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n318/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Mehta, B.N. and Mehta, B.B. The Modern Gujarati-English Dictionary. 2 vols. Baroda: N.C.Kothari, 1925.

Menant, D. "Les Khodjas de Guzarate", Revue du Monde Musulman, XII (1910), 214-232.

Misra, S.C. The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat. London: Asia Publishing House, 1963.

----------. Muslim Communities in Gujarat. London: Asia Publishing House, 1964.

Morris, H.S. The Indians in Uganda. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968.

Mujeeb, M. The Indian Muslims. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967.

Mukherji, S.C. A Study of Vaisnavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1966.

Munshi, K.M. Gujarat and its Literature. 3rd edition. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1967.

Al-Muqaddasī, . Kitāb Ahsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm. Edited by M. DeGoeje. Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1906.

McCall, D.F. Africa in Time Perspective, A Discussion Of Historical Reconstruction from Unwritten Sources. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

McLeod, W. Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n319/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

McLeod, W. "The Influence of Islam upon the thought of Gurū Nānak", History of Religions, Vol.VII, no.4 (1968), 302-316.

Nanji, Azim. The Spread of the Satpanth Ismā'īlī Da'wa in India (to the fifteenth century). M.A. thesis submitted to McGill University, 1969.

Nath, Raj. Essays in Criticism. Delhi: Doaba House, 1971.

Nanjiani, Sachedina. Khōjā Vrattant. 2nd ed. Ahmédabad, 1918.

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw. Kitāb Jāmi' al-Ḥikmatayn. Edited by H. Corbin and M. Mu'īn. Teheran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1953.

----------. Khwān al-Ikhwān. Teheran: Kitāb-Khāneh Bārāni, 1919.

----------. Shish Faṣl. Edited and translated by W. Ivanow. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1949.

----------. Wajh-i-Dīn. Teheran: 1960.

Nazim, Muhammad. The Life and Times of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1931.

Nicholson, R.A. The Mystics of Islam. London: G. Bell, 1914.

Nizami, K.A. Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India in the thirteenth century. Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1961.

----------. The Life and Times of Shaykh Farid u'd-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar. Aligarh: Department of History, Muslim University, 1955.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n320/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Nizami, K.A. "Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and their attitude towards the state", IC, XXII, XXIV (1949-50), 13-21, 162-170 and 312-321.

---------- and M. Habib, eds. A Comprehensive History of India, The Delhi Sultanate, Vol.5. Bombay: Peoples Publishing House, 1970.

Nooraly, Zwahir. Catalogue of Khōjkī Manuscripts in the Collection of the Ismailia Association for Pakistan. Draft copy. Karachi: Ismailia Association for Pakistan, 1971.

Al-Nu'mān, al-Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfa. Da'ā'im al-Islām. 2 vols. Edited by A.A.A. Fyzee. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1951-1960.

----------. Asās al-Ta'wīl. Edited by A. Tamer. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa, 1960.

----------. Kitāb al-Himma fī Ādāb Itbā' al-A'imma. Edited by Kamil Husayn. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabi, n.d.

----------. Risālat Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa. Edited by Wadād al-Qādī. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfa: 1970:

Nūrmuhammad, M.H. Ismā'īlī Mōmiṇ Kōmnō Itihās. Bombay: 1936.

Organ, T.W. The Hindu Quest for the Perfection of Man. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1970.

Orr, W.G. A sixteenth century Indian Mystic (Dadu). London: Lutterworth Press, 1947.

Pandey, S.M. "Mīrābaī and her contributions to the Bhakti Movement", History of Religions, IV-V (1964-66), 54-73.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n321/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Pandiyāt-i-Jawānmardī. Edited and translated by W. Ivanow. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1953.

Papanek, Hanna. Leadership and Social Change in the Khoja Ismaili Community. Ph.D. thesis submitted to Harvard University, 1962.

Penner, Hans. H. "Cosmogony as Myth in the Vishnu Purāna", History of Religions, IV-V (1964-66), 283-299.

Pellat, C. "Duldul", EI 2, II, 1965.

Petrushevsky, I.P. "The Socio-Economic Conditions of Iran under the Il-Khāns", The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol.5. Edited by J.A. Boyle. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1968.

Phillips, C.H., ed. Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Picklay, A.S. History of the Ismailis. Bombay: Published by the author, 1940.

Pickthall, M.M. The Meaning of the Glorious Koran. New York: Mentor Books, n.d.

Pithawalla, M. A Physical and Economic Geography of Sind. Karachi: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1959.

Pusalker, A.D. Studies in Epics and Purānas of India. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n322/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Qānī Thatwī, 'Alī-Shēr. Tuhfat al-Kirām. Trans. Akhtar Rizvī. Karachi: Sindhi Adābī Board, 1964

Qilīch, Bēg Farīdūn. A History of Sind. Trans. Mirza Kalich Beg. Karachi: Commissioner's Press, 1902

Quhistāni, Abū Isḥāq. Kitāb Haft-bāb. ed. and Trans. W. Ivanow. Bombay: The Ismaili Society, 1959

Rahimtoola, Jaffer. Khōjā Kōmnō Itihās. Bombay: Published by the author, 1905.

Renou, L. Hinduism. New York: Washington Square Press, 1967.

Ritter, H. "Djalāl al Dīn Rūmī", EI², II, 1965.

Rose, H. A. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province. Lahore: Samuel T. Weston, 1914.

Schimmel, A. "The Influence of Sufism on Indo-Muslim Poetry", Anagogic Qualities of Literature, ed. J. Strelka. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

----------. "The Martyr-mystic Hallāj in Sindhi Folk Poetry", Numen, IX no. 3 (Nov. 1962) 162-200.

----------. "Activities of the Sindhi Adabi Board", Die Welt Des Islams, VI (1961) 223-243.

Shafi, Mohammad. "Abd al Ḥaḳḳ b. Sayf-al Dīn al-Dihlawī", EI², I 60-61

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n323/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Shihāb al Dīn Shāh. Kitāb Khiṭābāt-i-'Āliyya. ed. H. Ojaqi. Bombay: Ismaili Society, 1963.

al-Shirāzī, Mu'ayyad fī al Dīn. Dīwan. ed. M. Kāmil Husayn. Cairo: Dār al Kātib al Miṣrī, 1949.

----------. al-Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad fī al Dīn. ed. M. Kāmil Husayn. Cairo: Dār al Kātib al Miṣrī, 1949.

Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961.

Shūshtarī, Nūr Allāh. Majālis al Mu'minīn. Teheran: 1956-1957.

Sijistānī, Abu Ya'qūb. Kashf al Maḥjūb. ed. H. Corbin. Teheran: Institut Franco-Iranien, 1949.

----------. Kitāb al Yanābī'. ed. and Trans. H. Corbin in Trilogie Ismaelienne. Teheran: Franco-Iranien Institut, 1961

Al-Sijjilāt al-Mustanṣirīya. ed. A.M. Mājid. Cairo: Dār al Fikr al 'Arabī, 1953.

Sirhindī, Yāḥyā b. Aḥmad. Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī. Trans. K.K. Basu. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932.

Stern, S.M. "The Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and Khurāsān and Transoxania", BSOAS, XXIII (1960), 56-90

----------. "The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya); its date and purpose", JRAS (1950) 20-31.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n324/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Stern, S.M. "Heterodox Ismā'īlism at the time of al-Mu'izz", BSOAS, XVII (1955) 10-33.

----------. "Ismā'īlī Propaganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind". IC, XXIII (1949) 298-307.

----------. Ismā'īlīs and Qarmatians", L'Elaboration de l'Islam, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961, 99-108.

----------. "The Succession to the Fatimid Imam al Amir, the claims of the later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism", Oriens, IV (1951) 193-255.

Singer M. ed. Krishna:Myths, Rites and Attitudes. Honolulu: East West Press, 1966.

Slochower, H. Mythopoesis: Mythic Patterns in the Literary Classics. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1970.

Sorley, H.T. Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit. London: Oxford University Press, 1940.

----------. "Bhitā'ī, Shāh 'Abd al Laṭīf", EI^2, I, 1960.

Spear, P. India, Pakistan and the West. London: 1958.

Strauss, Leo. Persecution and the Art of Writing. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952.

Strelka, Joseph. ed. Anagogic Qualities of Literature. Vol. IV. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n325/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Strelka, Joseph. ed. Perspectives in Literary Symbolism. Vol. I. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968.

----------. Problems of Literary Evaluation. Vol. III. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1969.

Subhan, J.A. Sufism, its Saints and Shrines. Revised edition. Lucknow: The Lucknow Publishing House, 1960.

Taylor, J. "An Approach to the Emergence of Heterodoxy in Medieval Islam", Religious Studies, 2 (1966-67) 197-209.

Thakur, U.T. Sindhi Culture. Bombay: University of Bombay, 1959.

Thompson, S. Motif Index of Folk Literature. (Rev. ed.) Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1955-58.

Titus, Murray. Indian Islam, a Religious History of Islam in India. London: Oxford University Press, 1930.

Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al Dīn. Rawḍat al Taslīm. ed and Trans. W. Ivanow, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1950.

Tyan, E. "Da'wa", EI 2, II 1965.

Umm Al Kitāb. ed. W. Ivanow in Der Islam, XXIII (1936) 1-132. Trans. (into Italian) by Pio Fillipani-Ronconi. Napoli: Instituto Universitario Orientale. 1966.

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n326/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization, ed. G. E. Von Grunebaum. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955.

Vaudeville, C. "Kabīr and Interior Religion", History of Religion, Vol. 3: No. 2. (1964) 191-201.

----------. "Evolution of Love Symbolism in Bhagvatism", JAOS, LXXXII (1962) 31-40.

----------. Kabir: Au Cabaret de l'Amour. (Connaissance de l'Orient:Collection UNESCO d'livres Representative) Paris: Gallimard, 1959.

Vidyākara. An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry. Trans. D.H.H. Ingalls. Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1965.

Vansina, J. Oral Tradition: a Study in Historical Methodology. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London: 1965.

Vatikiotis, P.J. The Fatimid Theory of State. Lahore: Orientalia Publishers, 1957.

Walji, Shirin. Ismailis on Mainland Tanzania. (M.A. Thesis Submitted to University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1969).

Walker, B. The Hindu World. 2 Vols. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968.

Watt, W.M. "The Study of the Development of the Islamic Sects", Acta Orientalia Neerlandica (Proceedings of the Congress of the Dutch

realpatidar.com

https://archive.org/details/bk681/page/n327/mode/1up

realpatidar.com

Oriental Society, 1970) Edited by, P.W. Pestman. Leiden: E.J. Brill. 1971, 82-91.

Weber, A. The History of Indian Literature. Trans. from the German edition by John Mann and Theodor Zachariae with the sanction of the author, sixth edition. Varansi: Chowkhamba, 1961.

Wensinck, A.J. "Iblīs", EI 2, III. 1970.

----------. The Muslim Creed. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd. 1965.

Williams, Sir M. Dictionary, English and Sanskrit. Varansi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1965.

Willis, J.R. "The Historiography of Islam in Africa: The Last Decade (1960-1970) African Studies Review, XIV, No. 3. (Dec. 1971) 403-424.

Wilson, Colin. Poetry and Mysticism. London: Hutchinson, 1970.

Wilson, H.H. The Vishnu Purana. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1961.

Zaehner, R.C. Hinduism. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

----------. Hindu and Muslim Mysticism. London: The Athlone Press, 1960.

Zāhid, 'Alī. Ta'rīkh Fāṭimīyyīn-i-Miṣr. Hyderabad, India: Jāmi'a 'Uthmāniya, 1948.

----------. Hamārē Ismā'īlī Mazhab kī Haqīqat awr Uskā Niẓām. Hyderabad: Jamī'a Uthmāniya, 1954.

realpatidar.com